M:C:

THE ADVOCATE OF CONSCIENCE LIBERTY,

OR,

AN APOLOGY FOR TOLERATION RIGHTLY STATED:

Shewing

The Obligatory Injunctions and Precepts for Christian Peace and Charity.

Adversus invidiam nil prodest vera dicere; ea est enim calumniatoris natura in crimen vocare omnia, probare vero nihil. Demosthenes.

They shall be judged without mercy that have shewed no mercy. *James* 2. 12.

Thou shalt not calumniate thy Neighbour nor oppress him by violence. Levit. 19. 13.

Printed, 1673.

UMI

PROOEMIUM.

THe long and grand debate about Toleration (of late so oft, and so fiercely discussed pro and con) by some universally condemned and exploded: by others with as much eagerness affirmed and approved. One party writeth copiously of the mischiefs which will follow Toleration; the other writeth as copiously of the necessity of it.

How to reconcile these two extreams is hard and difficult, especially when a prepostorous zeal to one side or other doth first set so great a sally in our wills and understandings. How many and how great have been the feuds and still are of this tottering and broken age, there is no man so happy as to be ignorant. And it is very strange and very sad; that an age which hath so much of light and faith in the pretence, should have so little love and charity in the practice. For how much of the Christian

World is now in Sects, *is a thing which requireth more lamentation then proof.*

Now in this general Combustion, Its every Christian's duty to bring what water he can to throw upon the flames: its the office of all peaceable men to endeavour the quenching of these intestine Conflagrations: *to supple and allay the rancour and swelling of this* Epidemical *evil. He that can stand unconcerned and deny his service to love and* peace, *and wounded Christ: may soon find he hath lost, even that which he thought to win.*

Had all that profess the Gospel in England *made* Conscience *of* Schism: *forbearing to judge and despise those that are not of their opinion: loving them still as Brethren and Christians; not censuring them as profane,* Antichristian-idolatrous, *&c. our breaches had never been so great; nor lovers of peace and truth so much cause to* lament.

We have Enemies enough abroad in the world, though Christians be not at variance with themselves. Did we conscientiously *apply our selves and make it our business to practice virtues, govern our* passions, *and subdue our appetites and self-wills in order to the glory of God: we should find work enough in our own hearts to employ: and neither have time, nor occasion to quarrel with others; making Enemies, when we have so many within our selves. Did we understand our* danger *or our duty, and* seriously *mind either; we should not be so* eager, *against those whom we ought to*

consider

consider us friends, upon the account of our relation *to God; and the tie of common nature, and obligations of divine precepts, and practice of the best times and hope of future happiness.*

I confess it is a thing unnatural for one Christian *to afflict another, (and that which is most to be lamented) for those who think themselves the Salt of the earth, who instead of preserving the world from* Putrefaction; *and concurring to heal the dividing principles, rather joyn with calumniators encouraging them in misreports, being glad to hear of any miscarriages, and very ready to take up any light rumours: and are willing tongues of slanderous fame: as if God had need of their malitious calumnies to his glory. These are vices and* immoralities *impious and detestable against which every good* Christian, *ought to manifest his* resentment *and be warned to* indignation *by them.*

Many confident reports, very strong presumptions, may all prove injurious and false: when it comes to the tryal. This very age doth experimentally confute, how many impeaceable zealots *have written and uttered false things, that had neither truth nor ground at all in them? Extravagant crimes have been imputed on the most ancient Christians. And this is done without Christ's way of a regular process of a just* tryal *and hearing; when the accused is not permitted to answer, or heard speak for himself. So that there must be a sin and injustice in the* Calumniator, *the believer and reporter.*

How can we think that unbelievers and Infidels, ſhould think well of them that ſpeak ſo ill of one another? to repreſent Chriſtians like a company of madmen that are tearing out the throats of one another? or like drunken men who one day fight and wound each other, and the next cry out of their wounds; and yet go on in their drunken fits to make them wider. I had thought that in general calamities every man ſhould have laid his hand upon his own heart and ſuſpect himſelf to be that Acham *that troubles the Camp, that* Jonah *that occaſions the Storm; and not like guilty* Ahab *lay the fault of troubling* Iſrael *on good* Elias.

Now when Bellona *ſhakes her bloody whip over this Kingdome: it becometh all good Chriſtians and ſubjects to leave their feuds, litigations,* diſcords *and* animoſities. *To lay aſide all uncomely rigour and ſeverities. Like the good* Samaritan *to be free of their oyl, and ſparing of their vinegar. To conſider ſome way to engage all hearts and hands in this Nation* unanimouſly *(not to multiply diſincouragements by penal inflictions) to ſquare out ſome milde,* moderate, pacifick *way wherein true liberty of Conſcience or* Toleration *(properly taken) conſiſteth. Which I will prove in this following Tractate, not only lawful but neceſſary; and obligatory as relating to ſeveral Religions in this Kingdome. But becauſe this virtue is better elucidated, by ſhewing the* vitiouſneſs *and* exorbitancies *of*

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the oppoſite extreams. I will firſt prove Perſecution *on the meer ſcore of Religion unlawful and to be condemned. To be againſt Policy, Piety, and our own Principles. Secondly I will ſhew that Liberty or Toleration rightly underſtood is neceſſarily to be permitted: but improperly taken to be diſavowed and condemned. Thirdly, To undeceive many weak and ignorant, I ſhall make it appear (againſt the* prejudices, paſſions, *miſtakes and blind errors of theſe ſad divided times) that the Romaniſts have as great a right and title to* Toleration, *as any other* Sect *whatſoever. Laſtly,* Solving *all the* Modern *and common* Objections *to the contrary: With a* concluſive exhortation *to all pious well-minded and charitable Chriſtians.*

The Queſtion Stated.

Note by Perſecution, *impoſition and reſtraint: we only mean the ſtrict requiring to believe this to be true, or that to be falſe,* &c. *and upon refuſal to* ſwear *or conform; to incur the* penalties *enacted in ſuch Caſes. But by theſe terms we do not mean any coercive let or hinderance into publick Meetings.*

By Liberty *of Conſcience we underſtand only a meer liberty of mind in believing or disbelieving this or that* Doctrine, *ſo far as may refer only to* religious

religious matters in a private way of worship: which are not destructive to the nature and grounds of Christian Faith: nor tending to matters of an external Judicature: in abetting any contrivance or disturbance to common peace or civility. Proceeding on the premises the title of the first Chapter will be.

CAP.

CAP. I.

Perſecution on the ſcore of Religion is utterly Condemned and unlawful.

IMpoſition, Violence, and Perſecution for matters meerly relating to Conſcience, directly invades the divine prerogative, for God alone is Lord over the Conſcience, it is his juſt Claim and priviledg, for as *Solomon* ſaith, no man hath power over Conſcience. *Luther* in the Book of Civil Magiſtrates, ſaith the Law of them extends no farther then Body and Goods, for over Conſcience God alone ruleth: in the ſame Book in the building of the Temple, ſaith he, there was no ſound of Iron heard, to ſignifie that Chriſt will have in his Church

Eccleſ.

a free and willing people not compelled by human Laws and Statutes, God hath exempted the ſoul out of your Commiſſion, *&c.*

The Cauſe and reaſon why Judicatures of men are appointed and ſet up, are that Magiſtrates ſhould be Miniſters of protection and praiſe to them that do good: and of terror and revenge of thoſe that do Evil in matters to outward practiſe: but to exceed theſe limits impoſing nice and doubtful oaths (not having the Conditions required in Scriptures) on the Conſciences of men and other preſſure, and penalties concerning their ſouls only (of which Chriſt alone Challengeth the propriety) is neither lawful nor warrantable. it is Gods prerogative to puniſh for Conſcience, who hath only propriety in the Soul, unto whom all muſt give account, in ſpiritual things. For Religion is a virtue hath God for its immediate object, when according to all Divines it is not within the vierge of humane Cognizance, becauſe the Soul is not liable to our tribunal. *Keckerman* a learned Writer ſaith, that the Bond between the Magiſtrate and Subject is eſſentially *Civil.* The ſaying of King *Stephen,*

phen, the wiſe King of *Poland*, is Obſervable that he was King of men, not of *Conſciences*, Commander of Bodies not of Souls.

The practiſe of perſecution meerly for conſcience, hath been diſavowed and condemned by divine authority, and holy writ, by the Primitive Fathers, by many of the moſt famous Princes in the world, by our own principles and conceſſions, by the wiſeſt, greateſt, and Beſt States in ancient and modern times, as the Jews, Romans, Egyptians, Germany, Holland, nay the Turks and Perſians, Poliſh and Bohemian Kings. *Marcus Aurelius* a Pagan permitted tolleration to Chriſtians. *Antonius Pius* Emperor (ſo called for his great piety) whoſe Empire God bleſſed with greater peace and felicity, then any Pagan Empeperor had before or after him; for the favour he ſhewed to Chriſtians; in taking of the many and Cruel perſecutions ſuffered under his Predeceſſors; Forbad no man ſhould be accuſed for their Religion, affirmed that the great Earthquakes and other Calamities wherewith the Empire was afflicted, proceeded of the juſtice of God for the injuries done to the Chriſtians: as it is

manifeſted by a Copy of the edict related by *Eutrop.* l. 10.

Gratian & *Jovianus Cæſar* Emperors permitted various Religions, the old Romans offered the Jews Liberty on condition they would be faithful. *Theodoſius* and *Gratian* moſt Chriſtian Emperors were contented to tollerate the Arrians. At *Hieruſalem* in Chriſt time were two Sects living ſociable, the Phariſees and Sadduces; in *Germany* theſe hundred years Papiſts and Lutherans live together, in *France* Calveniſts are permitted. How oft the French King gave Edicts of pacification is ſet down in *Laval. l.* 3. *Solomon* permitted the *Hittites*, *Hivites*, *Perizites* and *Jebuzites* to live quietly under his Reign, as *Grotius* obſerveth, on the 1 *of Kings* 19. 20. The Novatians ſaith *Baxter*, were tollerated and loved by the ſober Catholick Emperors, becauſe they had tollerable principles when many others were otherwiſe dealt withal, and *S. Martin* and *Sulpitius Severus* refuſed to be of their Councel for inciting the Emperor to the way of blood, & corporal violence. The Turk permitteth Chriſtians, Perſians and Æthiopians in his Dominions. Venetians ſuffereth Jews; amongſt

mongſt them, as the King of *Spain* did the Moors till neceſſity forced him to expel them by the Inquiſition.

Its a falſe propoſition proceeding from Gall and Spleen, only to breed an exulceration in the hearts of the people that Catholicks, Proteſtants, *&c.* may not be tollerated in a well governed wealth, the wiſer ſort will not endure ſo groſs a paradox dayly proved falſe before their eyes.

It was a notable obſervation of a wiſe Father, that thoſe that perſwaded preſſure of Conſcience, were commonly therein interreſſed themſelves for their own end. And moſt that now plead againſt *tolleration*, would plead as much for it, if they were once under the hatches and their Religion diſcountenanced By Power, and we that once thought the impoſition of a *directory* unreaſonable; & a reſtraint from our way of worſhip *Unchriſtian*; do not the ſame reaſons remain in vindication of indulgence to others? if you will have liberty to maintain your own opinions, why ſhould not reaſon tell you, others will exſpect the like for themſelves. Proteſtants, Calviniſt, Presbiterians, *&c.* living in popiſh Countries will plead for tolleration.

Our firſt reformers were grear Champions for liberty of Conſcience, as *Wicliffe* in his remonſtration to the Parliament: the Albigenſis to *Lewis* the eleventh and twelfth of *France*. *Calvin* to *Francis* the Firſt. *Luther* to the ſeveral Dyets under *Frederick* and *Charls* the Fifth; our ancient Proteſtant Divines *Muſculus*, *Oſiander*, *Stermius*. The Proteſtants in *Swetia* deſired tolleration as *Chytraus* ſheweth in his Chronicle 1595. and *Belloy* in *Apol.* ſaith, that *Melanchton* conſented. *Eraſmus* laboured to prove the neceſſity of it.

While Popery was prevalent in *England*, the Pope being then reputed Vicar of Chriſt in ſpiritual things, yet notwithſtanding ſo much liberty was given, that no man ſuffered death for oppoſing his dictates in Religion: and then in the 2. of *Henry* the fourth, a Statute being made againſt the Lollards, the Commons petitioned the King, it might be repealed, and by complaint of the Commons it was then in part repealed in *Stat. Hen.* 8.

A wiſe Emperor told *Henry* the third, King of *France*, there was no greater ſin then to force mens conſciences, for ſuch as think to Command them, ſuppoſing

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to win heaven, do often looſe what they poſſeſs on earth. King *James* in his ſpeech to the Parliment, ſaith that it is a ſure Rule in Divinity, that God never planted the Church by violence or Bloodſhed. Much leſs ſaith the wiſe Sir *Francis Bacon*, ought the Sword to be put in the peoples hands to perſecute, nouriſh ſedition, authorize conſpiracies, *&c.* for that is but to daſh the firſt table againſt the ſecond, and to Conſider men as Chriſtians, as we forget they are men.

The wiſe Romans in Caſe of Religion, were very tender and Cautious: for when *Cato* was Conſul and it ſeemed neceſſary to the Senate to ſuppreſs with violence, the diſordered Ceremonies of the Bacchinals, brought in by a ſtrange Prieſt into the City; he withſtood that ſentence, alleging there was nothing ſo apt to deceive men as Religion, which always preſents a ſhew of Divinity; and for that Cauſe it behooved to be very wary in Chaſtiſing the profeſſors thereof, leaſt any indignation ſhould enter into the peoples minds that ſomewhat was derogated from the Majeſty of God.

Others More freely, have not ſpared to place Religion (I mean that which is ignorantly Zealous) amongſt the kind of frenzies, which cannot be cured otherwiſe then by time given to divert and qualify the humour of the conceit. Whence *Levia* ſaid to *Auguſtus*, *Viſne Muliebre Concilium?* Let ſeverity ſleep a while, and try what what alteration the pardonning of *Cinna* may procure. The Emperor hearkned to her Counſel, and thereby found his enemies mouths ſtopped, and their Malice abated. A ſoft gale of wind oft allaies a great ſtorm, the warm Sun will prevail more with the traveller, then cold and boiſterous winds. The Goats blood will break the Adamant, which the hardeſt hammers cannot do: Chronical diſeaſes are not cured by phyſick and motion, but by time and reſt. It fals out many times that the remedy is worſe then the diſeaſe, and while we go about to cure the State, we kill it, and inſtead of purging out the peccant humour of the body politick, we caſt it into a *Calenture* or burning feaver. This was not unknown to that wiſe and good Emperor *Theodoſius*, who could not be perſwaded

perſwaded to extirpate or uſe violent courſes againſt the *Arrians*, knowing how dangerous it would prove to the ſtate if the quietneſs thereof ſhould be diſturbed.

Lucretius the Poet when he beheld the act of *Agamemnon* that could endure the ſacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed *tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum?* what would he have ſaid if he had known and ſeen the Chriſtian Bloodſhed and Violence in Religion in theſe times? he would have been ten times more Epicure then he was.

We read of *Sabbacus* a Heathen King of *Æthiopia* who being by dreams admoniſhed, that he could not poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom, but by the ſlaying of the Prieſts: he choſe rather to lay aſide the Claim; and to refer the government to twelve wiſe men; How much more will it become Chriſtians not to lay the foundation of Religion upon the Carkaſſes, ſpoils and ruins of their diſtreſſed neighbors, relations, and fellow Subjects?

It hath been an ancient aphoriſm of State and Wiſdome of the greateſt Princes, *punire raro*, it was aſcribed to *Auguſtus Cæſar* as a title of honour, *nunquam Civilem ſanguinem*

guinem fudiſſe : and *Seneca*, who lived under a Tyrant ſaith, *frequens vindicta paucorum odium reprimit, omnium irritat.* *Ariſtotle* ſaith, thoſe are ever held to be moſt godly Laws that are leaſt Sanguinary, and yet maintain Order.

The Kingdome of Chriſt is not carried on after the faſhion of this World, with arms and engines of War, to be erected on the bones and Sepulchres of our Brethren and Fathers. The Throne of Chriſt is not ſupported as *Solomons*, on both ſides with Lyons and Tygres, Bears and Wolves; inſtead of Lambs and Doves, as if we ſhould change our meek, patient, crucified *Meſſias*, and had got ſome Muzzian a Mahometan God of Forces, who is to be ſerved in Buff Coats and Armour. It was a great blaſphemy when the Devil ſaid, I will aſcend and be like to the higeſt; but it is a greater blaſphemy to perſonate God & to bring him, ſaying, I will deſcend to be like the Prince of Darkneſs with furies and perſecutions: nay, what is worſe to make the Cauſe of Religion (as is proved by experience this laſt Century) deſcend to the Cruel and inhumane murthering of Princes, butchering of the People, racking

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ing of Conſciences, by Oaths and Sequeſtrations; ſurely this is to bring down the Holy Ghoſt inſtead of likeneſs of a Dove into the ſhape of a Vulture or Raven, and to ſet out for the Barque of a Chriſtian Church, a Flag of a Barque of Pirats and Aſſaſinates, or to bring in an *armatum Evangelium*, Chriſtian Religion in Compleat Armour; and Chriſt marching like *Alexander*, *Hannibal* or *Cæſar*: it is hard to pick out Letters of Mart, from the Goſpel, or to have any Commiſſion to kill or ſlay Jeſus Chriſt in order to reform.

Whence a learned divine of our Engliſh Church ſaith, it is a ſqualid reformation, that is beſmeared with the blood of Chriſtians, it is againſt the honour, order, unity and majeſty of a reformed Church to perſecute, and to be like thoſe *canes ſepulchrales*, violating the bones and aſhes of the dead.

Perſecution ſetteth a man as far from a true Chriſtian temper, as burning Feavers do from natural heat and health, when once a male contented member is grieved then the reſt of the body is ſenſible and ſecretly arm for oppoſition: all cry pity any ſhould

ſhould ſuffer for their conſcience, and ſilently ſay among themſelves *ſors hodierna mihi, Cras erit illa tibi*, there being neceſſary connexion between Civil Liberty and that which is *Spiritual*, and, who would diveſt any of their ſpiritual, do alarm them with juſt Cauſes of looſing their *Civil*.

The nature of man however in hot blood, it be thirſty of revenge, yet in a cooler temper it hath a kind of *nauſea* or diſtaſte of taking the lives even of the moſt *Nocent* inſomuch that in Aſſizes or Seſſions an Offender can hardly be condemned, whom the pity of many will not after a ſort excuſe, with laying of impoſitions on the Judge, part on the Jury, and much on the accuſers. Hence the name of a Serjeant or *Purſuivant* is odious and the Executioner eſteemed no better then an enemy of mankind, and if ſuch as are tender of their reputations be very ſcrupulous perſonally to arreſt men for civil actions of debt, they will be more unwilling inſtruments of drawing their Bodies to the Rack and Gallows, eſpecially when any colour of Religion is pretended in defence.

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In Counſels concerning Religion that adviſe of the Apoſtle ſhould be prefixed, *ira hominis non implet juſtitiam*, we are to conſider we deal with men and not with beaſts, man is to be treated humanly, and a Chriſtian, chriſtianly, with all reaſon and charity; and of tender Conſciences ought to be had a tender reſpect, man is ſenſible of gentleneſs, & may be obliged to qnietneſs, by *humanity*. Whereas if you take violent courſes, and fight againſt the errors of the times with priſons, dungeons, fetters, oaths, *&c.* they will make men the greater hypocrites and be occaſion of inteſtine diviſion and bloodſhed: experience can ſpeak ſomewhat in this behalf, which hath evidently deſcryed within the current of few years, that ſeverity in Religion, hath years cauſed the long, known and manifeſt, miſeries of this Nation.

Hence one of our late Divines ſaith, it is ſufficiently known what the immoderation of a prepoſterous zeal, male contentedneſs, ambition and force, hath both machinated, and perpetrated to the deſtraction well nigh deſtruction of Church and State. The impudence and imprudence of inconſiderable raſh ſpirits, in their actions,

ons, paſſions, and ptetences for the Goſpel hath cauſed the ſlaughter of 200000 in *Germany*, hath cauſed, at leaſt occaſioned moſt of the wars, devaſtations, and bloodſhed, the great alterations, tumults & troubles in moſt places of Chriſtiandom, & our late Biſhop of *Exeter* ſaith, impoſitions on mens Conſciences and Judgments in matters of Religion, to tye them by penal and coercive Statutes (which like Perſian ſheep) carry tails of incurious mulcts after them, that are heavier then their bodies.

To come with ſwords to put Religion into our heads with main force, is like the watering of Plants with ſalt ſtreams, or the lighting of a Candle with gun-powder. Never was Chriſtian Religion planted or propagated by wars, by the civil and martial Sword; for God is not pleaſed with hypocrital and unwilling worſhippers forced thereto by outward violence; nor are Chriſtian Societies bettered by ſuch force, but oft-times the contrary. Too much ſeverity maketh men deſperate & ſheweth a will to oppreſs the offendor, rather then cure the offence, and nothing ſheweth more evidently that authority inclineth to tyranny,

ny, then the multitude of Promoters, continual informations, and the name of treaſon made as a Livery to put upon all offences.

Unchriſtian perſecution like a violent *Chryſis*, more frequently taketh away the Patient, then Contributes to his recovery! nouriſheth a wrathful devouring ſpirit one againſt another, makes us tranſgreſſors of that Royal law, which forbids us to do that one to another, we would not have them do to us, were we in their condition: and by this rule whoſoever is not againſt the cruelty of perſecution, hath nothing to ſay againſt juſtice, of his being a ſlave; for what meaſure he would mete unto others, he deſerves himſelf.

If to hate our brother is murder, as he is man, 1 *John* 3.16. ſure not only to hate, but even for Religion ſake to kill our brother a Chriſtian, and to be deſtroyers of Chriſtians, are rather *deicides*, then *homicides!* and if nothing can have more of Chriſtian then *Charity*, nothing can have more of *Antichriſtian*, then ſuch uncharitableneſs, which many nouriſhing for zeal, miſtake a Cockatrice for a Dove, and fiery Serpent, for a Phenix.

Outward

Outward violence in Cauſe of Religion is alſo condemned by holy Write and divine authority. Chriſt commanded both the tares and the wheat ſhould remaine together in the world, *Mat.* 13. 30. he reproved his Diſciples who would have had fire come down from heaven ro deſtroy the Samaritans, that would not entertain him, in theſe word, you know *what ſpirit you are of, the ſon of man came not to deſtroy*, Luke 9. 54. the ſervant of God muſt not ſtrive but be gentle to all men, 2 *Rom.* 2. 24. as God hath called every one ſo let him walk, 1 *Cor.* 7. 17. they who now are tares may become wheat, who are blind may ſee, ſome there be that come not till the eleventh hour, *Mat.* 20. 6. let your moderation be known unto all men. *Phil.* 4. 5. who art thou that judgeſt anothers ſervant, *&c. Rom.* 4. now I ſhall beſeech you by the meekneſs and gentleneſs of Chriſt, 2 *Corin.* 10. Wo unto them that make a man an offender for *a word, or lay a ſnare* for him, *Eſay.*

The Fathers of the primitive times pleaded againſt all force in Religion. The Chriſtian Church, ſaith Saint *Hillary*, againſt *Auxentius*, doth not perſecute but

is perſecuted. No man is forced againſt his will by the Chriſtians, ſaith *Lactantius.* S. *Hierom in pænit, cap.* 4. ſaith, that *hereſie* muſt be cut off by the Sword of the *Spirit.* And *Tertullian* ſaith, ſeeing he that wants faith and devotion is *unſerviceable* to God---for God being not *contentious* would not be worſhipped by the unwilling. The *Arrians* were the firſt introducers of perſecution. Let all the Canons of the Church be examined and ſearched, if one be found that juſtifies the ſhedding of blood meerly on the ſcore of Religion. S. *Auguſtine* complaineth, how the *Donatiſts* filled with blood and deſolation all *Africa*, perſecuting the *Orthodox* under *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, *Docendo magis quam jubendo, monendo quam minando veritatem agnoſcant*, Aug. Epiſt. 63. *Fides ſiquidem ſuadenda eſt non imperanda, ait* S. Bernard.

The Churches of the Eaſt grievouſly complained of the *Arrians* perſecution; *Athan. Epiſt. ad Solicar.* ſpeaketh much of their *inhumane cruelty. Nil tam voluntarium quam Religio, cogi non poteſt, diverſa ſunt, carnifex & charitas, non*

poteſt veritas cum vi, aut juſtitia cum credulitate conjungi in primitiva Eccleſia, ſaith learned *Becanus, hæretici non puniebantur morte corporali; alius eſt ſpiritus legalis,* ſaith he, *qui conſiſtebat in ſeveritate, alius eſt ſpiritus Evangelicus qui conſiſtit in manſuetudine, hunc debetis imitari. Et Apoſt. ad Titum* 3. *hæreticum hominem devita poſt unam & ſecundam correptionem; Sciens quia ſubverſus eſt; ubi notantur dixit devita, non occide: &* Eſay 11. 9. *non occiderit in univerſo monte ſancto meo, id eſt, in Eccleſia, ubi Propheta prædixit doctrinam Evangelii propogandam in Eccleſia ſine ſanguine & cæde.* See Becanus. Dominicus a Soto. in his 4. Sent. & diſt. 5. ſaith every man hath a natural right to inſtruct others in things that are good, but cannot compell. Strifes about Religion, ſaith *Grotius,* are *pernicious* and *deſtructive* where *proviſion* is not made for diſſenters. Perſecution overturns the practice of Religion, from *Abel* to *Moſes* and the *Prophets,* even to the meek example of *Jeſus Chriſt.* The Apoſtles and their Succeſſors for 300 years confirmed their Religion with their own blood

and not with the blood of their oppoſers.

External force in matter of Faith and Worſhip is repugnant to the nature of Chriſtian Religion, which is *meekneſs*; To the practice, which is *ſuffering*; To the *promotion* of it, go *teach all Nations*. Chriſtian Religion intreats all, compels none. Force never yet made a *good Chriſtian* or a good *Subject*. It ſubverts all Religion, becauſe men believe not, becauſe it is true or falſe, but becauſe they are Commanded for to do, their intereſt and ſecurity oblige them rather to obey then diſpute.

It is very unreaſonable to force men to declare or ſwear where their judgments are not fully ſatisfied; to require Faith where they cannot chooſe but doubt, to puniſh them for *diſobedience*, if they go not againſt their conſciences; and to be puniſhed hereafter if they do: For an *erroneous Conſcience* bindeth a man to follow it, according to the learned of all *Religions*.

Perſecution deſtroyeth the noble principle of reaſon, for no man can believe before he underſtands; and no

man can underſtand before he is taught: for *Faith* in all acts of Religion is neceſſary. Now to believe we muſt firſt will, to will we muſt judge; to judge any thing we muſt underſtand; which cannot be forced. How can the leprous diſeaſe of the mind be cured with corporal *catoplaſts?* or mens judgments be convinced of the truth by tormenting their Bodies? the *inflictions* then of external puniſhments for meer mental errors (not wilful) is unreaſonable and inadæquate, for as corporal penalties cannot convince the *underſtanding*, ſo neither can they be *proportionable mulcts* for faults purely *intellectual.*

Before we can with *juſtice* inflict penalties upon any different *profeſſion*, we ought to uſe all means poſſible to recover them to truth. Arguments to rational creatures as Chriſtians, are to *inſtruct*, *admoniſh*, *warn*, and finally to *reject*; to come to them full of compaſſion of their miſery, full of *affection* of their Salvation by reaſonable and *perſuaſive* motives ſuitable to their own nature; by ſomethng can reſolve its doubts anſwer its objections, *tenets*, and *Propoſitions.*

ſitions. Whence our firſt work ſhould be to *collect* a Body of *poſitive articles* evidently contained in Scripture and abſolutely neceſſary to *ſalvation* (for its improper to pen the form of Faith in the negative) becauſe my believing *Chriſtian* truths makes me a *Chriſtian*, and not my disbelieving the errors that oppoſe it; elſe he that believes nothing at all would be the beſt Chriſtian.

We muſt fight againſt *Antichriſt* by lawful ways preſcribed by the Word of God, by the *ſpirit* of his mouth, in preaching, inſtructing in *Charity*, *Patience*, *humility*, according to the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. The weapons of Chriſtian warfare are not *Carnal* but *Spiritual*, 2 *Cor.* 10. For as they were not the warlike *engines* of *Joſhua*, but the *trumpets* of the *Sanctuary*, that made the walls of *Jericho* to fall down: So it is not the *Canon*, but the *trumpet* of the *Goſpel*, which is required to pull down the walls of *Babylon*. True Religion was never advanced by theſe ways, but propagated by patient ſufferings: the Example of Jeſus Chriſt is ſo far from perſecuting,

that he would not revile his *persecutors*; prayed for them; saith, go *teach all nations*, &c. The Text directs Christs procedure in teaching, not in devouring.

Wherefore all wise, humble, and charitable Christians should so Order their *judgments* and *Censures*, if at any time they are forced to declare them; they must above all things take heed they nourish not, nor discover any uncharitable *fewds*, *antipathies*, *distances* against others, after the rule of those *passions*, which were the common source of Schism and Heresies. The free, meek, and solid piety feeds it self on the substance of Religion, without picking quarrels at the shell; free from the superstition and hypochondriacal *Zeal* of some who pretend to advance the Kingdom of Christ by cutting the throats of his Disciples, and *cementing* his temples with blood, instead of the *Cement* of charity.

CAP.

CAP. II.

Perſecution is againſt Policy and Piety.

THe grand fomenters of perſecution can be no friends to the Engliſh State, for what but *impoſition*, *immoderation* and *reſtraint* in the cauſe of Religion (as a learned divine Noteth) hath turned *Epiſcopacy* into *Presbytery*, *Presbytery* into *Independancy*, *Independancy* into *Quakeriſm*, *Religion* into *Policy*, *Reformation* into *Innovation*, *Profeſſion* into *Pretence*, *Miniſtery* into *Souldiers*, *Souldiers* into *Preachers*, *Churches* into *Stables*, *Pulpits* into *Tubs*, *Degrees* into *Parity*, *Paſtors* into *Hirelings*, *Apoſtolical Hierarchy* into *Anarchy*, with abuſive fumes and flames to build *Babels* of their own.

'I am not able to expreſs (ſaith another 'great Doctor of our Engliſh Church) 'how high an impiety it is, that at this 'time when Gods hand is out againſt us 'juſtly for our ſins, to be diſpoſed and 'fixed upon a reſolution that to redeem 'external peace we will perſecute, *&c.*--- 'I admire to ſee too too many in 'Parliament here amongſt us where is 'great plenty of able Gentlemen of ex- 'cellent learning, worth, wit and other 'perfections and endowments, as any 'nation beſides: to be inclinable if not 'actually reſolved in all meetings to 'feud about the Rom. Religion eſpeci- 'ally now after this tryal of their hone- 'ſty ---more is to be admired, the pre- 'poſterous machinations, and motions 'even of Churchmen, who by the Ca- 'nons are forbid to have any hand in 'blood---when they forſake the ancient 'refuges of Chriſtians which were 'preaching and tears, and betake them- 'ſelves to ſwords and helmets, plots, 'conſpiracies and purſuivants.

'Wiſemen have ſeen thoſe obſcurities 'and diſgraces which as black ſhadows 'have attended even Churchmen. Per- 'ſecution

ſecution is fitter for the hands of *Cyclops* who forged *Jupiters* Thunderbolts, then the Prieſts of the Gods. *Biſhops* ſhould always be tender of good conſciences, and of the honour of Chriſtian Religion: which was not wont to ſee Miniſters, rough and *targetted* as the *Rhinoceroes*, but ſoft and gentle, cloathed as the Sheep and Sheepheards of Chriſt. There is not a more portentous ſight then to ſee *galeatos Clericos*. Chriſt long ago in the perſon of Saint *Peter* commanded them to put up their Swords; nor was he ever heard to repeal that word; or Bid them draw their Swords; no not in Chriſts Cauſe (that is meerly for Religion) who hath legions of Angels, armies of Truth, gifts of Graces of the Spirit to defend himſelf and his true intereſt in Religion withal----and a little after----

Indeed our *Eccleſiaſtical* Rulers have reaſon to ſteer us cautiouſly, ſince they ſit at the Helm in ſuch a Ship, as hath thrown very many Pilots over board----it becomes thoſe Biſhops now got up newly to be moſt calm, quiet, and ſedate Spirits----

The

'The great alteration of the Body of 'the People since these last twenty 'years require that our old ends of pro- 'moting the welfare of the Church of '*England* should be attained by the con- 'duct of new means----Bishops should 'compose the affections of the People 'by Liberty of Conscience, and not 'Acts of *Uniformity*, for the greatest 'assertors of *Episcopacy* and Ceremonies 'of the Church are lodged in their 'Graves; and the present major part 'of this Land consists in those to whom 'the introducing of the old Church *Pre-* 'latical *Government*, will seem an *Inno-* 'vation: Its the interest of the Clergy 'here to temper the Government of the 'Church: for its irrational to think that 'any Church Government (in a Prote- 'stant Country of Sectaries) can be ac- 'commodated to the content and satis- 'faction of all: which restraineth a large 'and almost absolute power to the heads 'of a few Protestant Bishops.

Its the concern of none but Soul-diers of Fortune to oppose due Liberty of Conscience. Whence the wise King *James* had wholly repealed the penal Statute,

Statutes engaged ſo to do (and *Papiſtry* then was declared *tolerable*) had he not been diverted from it by *Cecil* and other Upſtarts and Politicians, whoſe intereſt was begun and grounded upon Hereſie and deſtruction of the *ancient Nobility* and Gentry of the Kingdome. For in his Speech, Seſſ. 1. Printed 1611. *My mind*, ſaith he, *was ever free from perſecuting and thralling my Subjects in matters of Conſcience*, and in his next words---*I was ſo far from increaſing their burdens with* Roboam, *as I have ſo much as either time, occaſion, or law would permit me to have, lightened them.* And in his Cenſure againſt *Conradus Vorſtius* the Dutch Heretick, recounting the difference between Proteſtants and Catholicks, he findeth not any for which Papiſts may be perſecuted but rather the contrary.

You may object perſecution is neceſſary in Policy of State. I anſwer, who is ſwayed by this motive runs but the *indirect way* of State-Policy! and makes uſe of a title of that name only, to ſupport what his *ambition*, malice, or intereſt inforces him too; and is guilty not only

only of his own *Evils*, but whatever others are thereby occasioned, in *oppression* of others. These mysteries of *Machiavel* have been to far discovered to be of no use in this Nation for the future. This Cloak of *formal* Godliness is now worn thredbare, and almost all men sees it to be but a Cloak. Such specious devises appear now to be but like Flock-work upon *Canvas* scattered over with glittering Copper or Tinsel. Experience hath made almost every Body able to look not only on the *Colours* and Pretext, but the depth and motive of every such design.

The infinite eye and wisdome of God doth pierce through all our *pretences*; and his justiee doth require no other accuser then our own consciences; which neither the false *beauty* of our actions, nor all the *formality* (which to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on, can in the least kind cover from his knowledge. We know that a good pretence cannot justifie a bad action; and therefore we ought to be as *sollitous* about the lawfulness of the means; as about the goodness of the end: it is a

maxime

maxime in *morality* that, *bonum oritur ex integris*; and in Chriſtianity, that we muſt not do evil that good may come of it.

There is nothing that God's pure and undeluded eye looks on with more abhorrence then *Pſeudopolicy*, we may deceive men, but its in vain to put *Ironies* upon God. A *Counterfeit Religion* ſhall find *a real hell.* And who have conſpired with the wrath of God in the ſtupefaction of their conſciences, though they may for a time ſtruggle with thoſe inward checks, yet there will be a day (if not in this life) when that Witneſs, that Judge, that Jury will not be bribed. Let it be part of our dayly *oriſons*, that God would baniſh this curſed Policy, out of *Europe* and the whole World; and damn it down to Hell from whence it originally came: and ſuch as delight to abuſe others, think of that ſelf-couſenage, with which in the *interim*, they abuſe themſelves, God permitting the Devil to wrong the Impoſtor.

Admit that for ſome worldly reſpect, Laws were neceſſary in State-Policy for

for the time wherein they were enacted; yet the time changing, and thoſe cauſes entirely ceaſing which made them ſeem neceſſary: now it will not only be ſafe but neceſſary to repeal them; when after ſuch trials there is no cauſe of ſuſpition remaining nor colour of jealouſie, at leaſt none but what may eaſily be removed by the wiſdom of the State, and plenary ſatisfaction in behalf to themſelves.

Wary *ſuperpoliticks* are over curious ſpirits, plead policy againſt *Piety*, and prefer outward ſafety before inward peace, ſubject Faith and Truth to *Policy*, our private and *civil* good to intereſt; *Religion* is ſuited to Government, and Conſcience to *connivency*. What is Policy againſt Religion? If it be iniquity, injuſtice, and oppreſſion to treat men ſo without cauſe or demerit, it is not any feigned imaginary reaſon of State, will excuſe thoſe who act and give counſel to ſuch unchriſtian acts; leſt the Blood of *Souls* lie upon their account another day.

More Families have been ruined, more perſons impriſoned, more moneys ſpent

ſpent by the cruelty of perſecution, than by all Law-Suits in the Courts of Judicature, or payments and ordinary Taxes. Our Church-wardens are perjured that ſwear to preſent them to every Seſſions (though impoſing of ſuch an Oath is breach of the Fundamental Laws of the Land) and thoſe Church-wardens that are not perjured, but purſue the Oath, in perſecuting their neighbors are plunged with a horrid guilt of Conſcience. Now there are above 9285 pariſhes in *England*, and ſeventy four thouſand Church-wardens and Sideſ-men in *England* every year, and what a dreadful thing is it to have all theſe yearly either perjured, perſecuted or Perſecutors?

I am by many reaſons induced to conclude, that this ſevere *ungoſſpellary* way of proceeding hath been the cauſe of ruin of Trade, impoveriſhing; and many afflictions of this Nation. It hath made us an *Obloquy* to all our Neighbors, hinders Traffique, becomes a prejudice to the Reformed beyond Seas, a diſcontenting our Friends at Home, a Scandal to all the World, a diſheartning

ning of a great many good Subjects: Perſecution ſtops all our Friends mouths, weakens their hands, and droops their hearts; on this account many *families*, have left the Land to remove into ſome country where they may have *liberty*, by this means the trading ſtock of the Nation is conveyed away. To uſe external force in matters purely of Faith and Religion, you muſt ſide with and ſupport all corrupt intereſt, tire and weary out your ſelves with never-failing troubles and anxious difficulties, attended with a hundred fears: and in concluſion if you proſper in ſuch practices, you would but leave Poſterity partakers of the Bondage you entail upon the People.

What benefit or credit was ever got by perſecution theſe eighty years? have not many noble perſons on that account left the Land? many Religious men and women cloiſtered, to retire to ſpend their means and lives in other Countreys? have not Princes and States of that Religion expreſſed much diſatisfaction to ſee them unmercifully uſed? hath not a general conſumption of com-

fort

ſort, unity, *affection*, ſettlement, and content, and many ſad *miſchiefs* befallen us the laſt Century on this only ſcore? & hath not God ſhewed his juſt chaſtiſements, judgments upon the chief actors, complices, contrivers and abetters of ſuch inhumane proceedings, as in *Cromwel*, *Cecil*, *Dudley*, *Leiceſter*, *Somerſet*, *Walſingham*, *Bacon*, &c.

We deceive our ſelves to promiſe or exſpect to King or Kingdome, Prince or Subject, Peace or Safety, or Deliverance from our Troubles, if we ſubordinate Fundamentals in Religion and neceſſary Truths of Faith to our private or *civil Intereſt*.

If he be an unwiſe man who provides means, where he deſigns no end: perſecutors will never be able to accompliſh their end. For experience tells us, that puniſhments and perſecutions never leſſens the reſolution of Chriſtians, but alwaies heightens *Zeal* and ſometimes draws men into *leagued Factions*: which indulgence and favour would prevent.

It is obſerved by all lookers into Antiquity, that Chriſtian Religion ſtill got ground in the world, not by perſecuting

but by being perſecuted. And our penal Laws, rather increaſed then hindred the growth of Popery. Whence King *James* obſerved that *Sanguis Martyrum eſt ſemen Eccleſiæ*, the ſpilling of Chriſtian Blood is but the watering of Chriſt's Vineyard. This Pine-Tree the more it is preſſed, the higher it groweth. This Camomile the more it is troden the thicker it cometh up. This Walnut-Tree the more it is beaten, the more fruitful it waxeth.

Yea even the Non-Conformiſts are likely ſtill to increaſe, as from *Edward* the ſixts time to this, they have *gradually* done, notwithſtanding the rigour of *Eccleſiaſticks* aga nſt them, and that which we cannot without horror obſerve, is, the not allowing of a due and regular Liberty of Conſcience hath inſtead of advancing the Cauſe of Religion propagated *Atheiſm* in this Nation. It hath been an old *Stratagem* of Satan to oppoſe *Religion* againſt *Religion*, to leave us none at all.

It hath been likewiſe obſerved as a ſhuffling *hypocritical diſtinction* of Law-

yers (invented to deceive the innocent) pretending none are executed or ſuffer for Religion or Conſcience, but for Treaſon; or offending the Laws. Who doth not ſee but by this rule thoſe Bloody Tyrants *Nero*, *Diocleſian*, *Maximine*, *&c.* muſt be conſcientious, becauſe they judged according to the Law? and thoſe glorious Martyrs muſt be counted Traitors? nay even the curſed Jews who crucified Chriſt alledged the ſelf-ſame reaſon; we have a Law and by our Law he ought to die, *John* 19. 7.

Treaſon muſt alwaies be ſome action or intention diſcovered prejudicial to the Soveraign or State: not an Opinion or Profeſſion of Religion. For this reaſon Sir *John Old-Caſtle* in the Reign of *Henry* the fifth, for his *Treaſon* was condemned in one Court, and for his Hereſie, in another. So were *Cranmer* and *Ridley* in Queen *Maries* time. And therefore alſo it is by the ſtatute provided 22 and 27 *Eliz.* that if a Prieſt conforms, he is actually diſcharged of all imputation of treaſon; no further proceeding can lye againſt him.

If Prieſt-hood be no treaſon, a Prieſt

in that he is a Prieſt can be no Traytor: unleſs we will account Apoſtles and all ancient Prieſts both of *England* & all Countries, whom *Kings* and *Emperors* have honoured, and loved; as their faithful friends and ſubjects. So far thought them from being enemies to their Crown; that from their hands all Princes received their Crowns, *Conſecrations*, and Scepters.

Cap. III.

CAP. III.

Liberty or Toleration Rightly underſtood, is equitable, juſt or neceſſary to ſeveral Religions.

Have viewed moſt of the Tracts concerning *Toleration*, *pro* and *con*; Some I find over *ſtrict* and nice, *auſtere*, and rigid: others profane and looſe, *arbitrary* and remiſs: and betwixt them both *toleration* ever ſcrapes the *imputation* of calumnie, either of too much *reſtriction*, or profane *relaxation*: neither of them will know that true *liberty* is a middle kind of *equity*, *indulgency*, *benignity*, betwixt both extreams: not curſt and cruel, but tender and *compaſſionate*, hath her commendation; for *moderation*,

rative, rather than *vindicative*: minding rather to amend than confound: not raſh and *arbitrary* diſpenſing with the Law as if it were but a *leaden* rule; but circumſpectly and benignly interpreting it, that it might not prove an Iron-Rod.

We plead then only for ſuch a *Liberty of Conſcience*, as preſerves the Nation in Trade, *Peace*, and Commerce; which preſerves a fair entercourſe and *correſpondency* one with another, and with their reſpective members: and would not exempt any man or party of men from not keeping thoſe excellent Laws, that tend to ſober, juſt, and *induſtrious* living in a due Chriſtian *regulation*; conſiſtent with the evident Laws of God and quiet Government; and that indulging Diſſenters in the ſenſe defended, is not only, moſt Chriſtian and *rational*, but prudent alſo: and conformable to his Majeſties Gracious Declaration.

It appears of neither pace to drive on furiouſly with *Jehu* in matters of Policy, nor that he go ſoftly with *Ahab* in matters of Piety. In matters of Scruple or Controverſie, it likes well of nothing but walking with

with a Right Conſcience, *Gal.* 2. 14. and that alſo of free choice like the *Iſraelites* among the *Edomites*, *Numb.* 22. 26. above all it hates to remove the ancient Land-Marks, whether of Law or Religion, *Deut.* 19. 14. not thirſting one anothers Blood, nor invading anothers rights as Wolves and Tygers; but as the Apoſtle ſaith, *ſobrie*, *juſte*, *& pie.*

It being an apt Mediety or mediocrity betwixt the Rigid contention of a furious *Zeal* or emulation, and the Luke-warm diſpoſition of a reachleſs indifferency or neutrality: and though it be tender and compaſſionate as a mother; yet ſhe is far from being over-*remiſs*, *Licentious* or irregular, whence ſome wiſe men take it for a Maſter-piece of prudence wiſely diſcerning 'twixt what is juſt and fit; and ſo giving ſentence rather congruouſly then ſeverely.

School-men and Moraliſts make it to be a *potential* part of *juſtice* bringing (not ſeverely) the Fact home to the Law: but rather in equity the Law down to the Fact, regulating the ſtrict

words and rigour, for the common good and particular relief of peſons in certain facts, times, contingencies and circumſtances. 'Tis a part of *temperance* amiable and amicable. 'Tis ſeverally tranſlated and hath many *Epithets* in holy Scripture, Modeſty, *equity, humanity, gentleneſs, clemency*, courteſie, patience of Spirit, 'Tis the bleſſing and comfort of peace and unity in the Church, of plenty and tranquillity in the Common-wealth; of plain ſatisfaction to the Conſcience, and of plenary contentation to all ſorts and conditions of rational men. Nothing can be eaſie, ſweet, and ſafe, in our lives, Religion, Conſciences, or liberties to God or man without it: without it we be tedious to our ſelves and troubleſome one to another.

2 *Cor.* 1. 1 *Pet.* 2. 10. *Phil.* 4. 5. 2 *Tim.* 2.

This virtue is not a little illuſtrated by its contrary oppoſit, Perſecution, *immoderation, auſterity, rigidneſs, inexorableneſs, compulſion*, impoſition, *&c.* which is an extream vitiouſneſs in perſons, in their judgments, opinions, paſſions, affections, pretences, actions, and deſigns: of

of which we have been more *pathetically* ſenſible in the effects, than in the *qualities*.

This medium therefore or middle kind of equity, indulgency or liberty betwixt both extremities aforeſaid, is the moſt juſt and reaſonable unto which all Chriſtians have a right and title too; by virtue and purchaſe of Chriſt's Blood, Death and Reſurrection, who is become ſole Lord over the Soul, unto whom we are to give account only as our proper Judg, in matters purely internal and Spiritual: for in this the Judicatures of men are not capable to make a clear judgment, or declare certainly who are in the right or wrong.

This Freedome of Conſcience is of ſo high concern to all (and not only to be enjoyed by the ſtrongeſt party) as well for the Magiſtrates ſake as the Peoples common good; and it conſiſts in the Magiſtrates forbearing to impoſe preſſures and penalties in matters of Faith and Conſcience, leſt they intrude into the Office of Chriſt, to whoſe deciſion ſuch actions are only liable.

The ancient original Fundamental Laws

Laws (by which other Laws of leſs extent) are to be regulated were intended as a Defence and Protection to all: providing, one injure not another; and that Common Peace and Safety be ſecured; no other ſubſequent inferiour Law can therefore debar any peaceable Chriſtian, that anſwers the neceſſities of Church and State, Civil, Spiritual and Political) in equal juſtice, and in *foro Conſcientiæ* from this priviledge orginally due to all: For they that are contributaries to the peace and maintenance of Government, are intitled to a protection from it, according to the juſt nature of government which conſiſts in a fair and equal retribution. Whence a late Presb. Divine confeſſeth, none ever ſaw any argument yet could clearly evince, why any ſort of men who would profeſs a peaceable ſubjection unto the Civil Government, might not in all their Civil Rights be protected by it.

I conceive it therefore moſt clear, both in right reaſon and true Religion: that Governours ought to move in that middle way between tolerating all differences and none at all in matters of Religion:

Religion: wherein men are variouſly to be conſidered, according to the profeſſion they own and make of Religion: as none are to be tolerated in Blaſphemy, or any that have caſt off all ſenſe of juſtice, order, ſhame and humanity (ſeeing the nature of man is more prone to imbibe noxious things then to eject them) ſo true virtuous liberty is not to be infringed; nor any who can give a ſober Chriſtian and rational account for their principles and profeſſion to Church and State. For the Power among Chriſtians ſhould not be a hard and ſharp rock daſhing preſently all in pieces that touch, and ſtrike at it in the leaſt kind though never ſo modeſtly.

'Chriſtian Religion (ſaith a learned 'Divine) hath moderated the extremity 'of Servitude as to Civil things in all 'places where it was received, when cer-'tainly it is much more conſonant to that 'Religion, and eſpecially that form of 'Religion which hath aſſerted its Spiritu-'al Liberty from the *impoſitions* of o-'thers, to allow a Spiritual Freedom to 'others.

Another of our Divines ſaith, 'Chri-'ſtian

ſtian Religion ought not to be made a ſnare, harrow, a rack, or heavy yoak, or an Egyptian bondage, to mens minds and conſciences: this were to turn the ſweeteſt vine into a ſharp bramble, and the fig-tree into a thorn: nor is there any thing Chriſtians ſhould be more tender of (as the *Epheſine* Fathers admoniſh) than their own and others true *liberty*, Chriſt hath purchaſed with his pretious Blood: of which Chriſtian Magiſtrates ſhould be exact keepers and conſcientious defenders, leſt piety prove an oppreſſion, and the bracelets and ornaments of Religion become the chains of hypocriſie and manacles of *ſuperſtition* binding ſuch heavy burdens on mens Conſciences which God hath not impoſed, but exempted from their Commiſſion.

The beſt way to convince oppoſers is by inſtructing them in meekneſs in the Spirit of Love, by ſuitable acts of *indulgency*; for our dear Lord that bought us, will take nothing more kindly at this time from us (ſaith an ingenious Author) as to be pitiful to his Servants, who are diſtreſſed about your acts in point of *Conſcience*.

ence, & who the more diſtreſſed they are and like to our Lord, the fitter ſubjects they are for your *Compaſſion*. If you had no need of mercy from God, it were tolerable then for you to be extream towards others. In point of Chriſtianity we ſhould be *merciful* unto them as our heavenly *Father is merciful*, *Luke* 6. 36. Mercy is to be preferred before Sacrifice.

No torture, no rack or tyranny ſo great as when exerciſed on the conſcience, forcing to declare or ſwear where their judgments are not fully ſatisfied Force may make an hypocrite, it is Faith grounded on knowledge and conſent that makes a Chriſtian: no war ſo paſſionate as the war of Conſcience, in Factions, Conventicles, Aſſociations, and Sects: ſuch practiſes become not the Goſpel, nor are ſuitable to Chriſt's meek Precepts, Sufferings and Doctrine. True Chriſtian Concord is the conſequence only of a favourable benignity or toleration as before circumſtantiated.

For a true Chriſtian following the rules, precepts, and examples of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, loveth God above all things, and

and his Neighbour as himſelf, doth injury to no man, pardoneth all injuries done to him, eſteemeth and honoureth every one according to his degree and merit, repreſſeth all concupiſence, unlawful deſires, obeyeth Magiſtrates, Superiours and laws as the ordinance of God; *Non propter iram sed propter juſtitiam.* Rom. 13. Not for fear but conſcience. Yeildeth to every one his due; to *Cæſar*, that which is due to *Cæſar*, &c. And finally preferreth in all things the publick wealth before his private Commodity: hence it followeth that in whatſoever ſtate he liveth, he is humble, meek, peaceable, obedient, temperate, juſt, religious, and conſequently a good and excellent member of his Common-wealth; inſomuch that if the precepts of Chriſtian Religion were followed, there ſhould need no *Political* Law, which as the Apoſtle ſaith, *poſita eſt injuſtis & non ſubditis*, *ordained* for the diſobedient and unjuſt.

Chriſtian Religion in reſpect of the means it giveth for attaining of true perfection and virtue, and for the pu-

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rity and excellency of the doctrine, and of rites and ceremonies, is truly *Politi-cal*, and moſt neceſſary for Government of ſtate; whence whoſoever is a true and perfect Chriſtian, is and muſt needs be, *Bonus Civis*, a good Citizen as *Ari-ſtotle* termeth a good member of the Common-Wealth.

This was evident to the *Paynims*, when they conſidered Chriſtian Doctrine, without *Paſſion* and partiality: that *Pliny* the Second, being proconſul of *Aſia* under *Trajan* Emperour, acknowledged the ſame in an Epiſtle to *Trajan*, written in favour of perſecuted Chriſtians in his *Juriſdiction*; teſtifying of them they were an *innocent* and harmleſs people; whoſe cuſtom and exerciſe was to aſſemble themſelves in the night to ſing *Hymns* and *Praiſes* to *Jeſus Chriſt*; and that they promiſed and vowed to Commit no *offence*; or do any hurt to other men: not to ſteal, rob, perjury, break promiſe, &c. upon which teſtimony *Trajan* ordained no Chriſtian ſhould be further puniſhed or inquired of, for their Religion, *Euſeb. l.* 3. *Eccleſiaſt. c.* 27. and his Succeſſor *Adrian*

drian upon Like ſuggeſtion and information given by a noble man, Called *Serennio Gramiano* gave order to *Minutius Fundanus* his proconſul; that Chriſtians ſhould not be puniſhed; *Euſeb. l. 4. c. 8. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Thus ordained they, knowing only ſome points of Chriſtian Religion: if they had underſtood how it reforms mens manners, how the *Canons, Codes, inſtitutes, digeſts* out of the *Corpus Civile*, are congruous & conſonant with the good of *Civil* ſociety, they would not have held it only tolerable, but even neceſſary for eſtabliſhment and conſervation of Goverment.

As nothing is more plain and ſure then that the *tolerating* of all *ſects*, errors and faults, which *conſcience* may pretend for: or of none at all, are utterly deſtructive of Chriſtian and human peace, ſociety and ſafety, nor is he well in his wits that holdeth either part *univerſally* or unlimitted (who thinketh all or none to be tolerated) for by the one we ſhould have no goverment, and by the other in time, by death, *baniſhments*, perſecutions *&c.* we ſhould have

no

no Subjects to be governed, nor have any Servant; ſo no Maſter, no Wife, ſo no Husband.

So ſeeing an univerſal unity among Chriſtians is not to be attained, a *toleration* of things tolerable is not only lawful but neceſſary: a Latitude of Liberty is left in ſuch things as are not clearly and poſitively laid down in Scripture: Or in things of private practice, *Rom.* 14. 22. haſt thou faith, *have it to thy Self.*

But then it may be objected, ſeeing *toleration* muſt have its bounds and limits, and thoſe are almoſt *indiſcoverable, viz.* what points are neceſſary? and what not? what Sects and Opinions tolerable? and what not? and who muſt be the Judge? or elſe we muſt deal partially, and unjuſtly condemn one Sect and tolerate others?

I anſwer we muſt not caſt away reaſon, becauſe there is a difficulty in uſing it aright. What if be a hard thing to enumerate how many bits a man may eat and not be a glutton? or how much drink and not a drunkard? or what meats or drinks muſt be uſed to avoid ex-

ceſs in quality? or what cloth, ſilks, faſhion, may be uſed without exceſs in apparel? will you thence infer that men may eat and drink any think in *quantity* or *quality*, or elſe nothing? or wear any thing or elſe go naked? as long as it is certain ſuch a difference there is that ſome opinons are tolerable and ſome not; you muſt diſtinguiſh; and then you will find a neceſſity of diſcerning as you can according to right reaſon and grounds of Chriſtianity, the *Tolerable* from the intolerable.

The profeſſion of the Creed and thoſe who give ſome ſolid, *ſuccinct* and *apodictical* account directly grounded on Scripture, rightly underſtood, or in right regulated reaſon which is able to bear a *ſuperſtructure* of Chriſtian Doctrin and practice (as enumerated afore) agreeing upon the ſummary of Belief in *poſitive*, evident, and fundamental points ſuitable to the Apoſtolical Symbol, are conditions which require neceſſarily *indulgency* and *toleration*.

In theſe regards then, there can be no prevalent objections urged, why a wiſe State may not tolerate (at leaſt in private)

vate) different Religions: when otherwiſe the publick may be *intangled* or endangered; or rather becauſe the conſcience cannot be compelled or *Faith* forced. And more eſpecially if they be ſuch Religions as do not overthrow the fundamentals of Truth. Nor ſuch as diſturbe or impugn the Government eſtabliſhed. Or if the profeſſors thereof be ſuch as are not *factious* or *pertinacious*, but honeſt, ſimple, tractable, obedient to Superiours having no other end in holding their Opinions in Religion, than Gods glory or *ſatisfaction* of their own conſciences, and withall are willing to ſubmit to better judgments, when they are convinced to be Erroneous.

In this reſpect the late gratious Declaration for Liberty doth ſufficiently appear (to all impartial men) to be prudent, pious, and *politick*. For this purpoſe, the Turks and Muſcovites inhibited all diſputations in matter of Religion, upon pain of Death: the like inhibition was made by the Emperour and Princes in *Germany* after their *Civil* Wars; that there ſhould be no Contention between Catholicks and Proteſtants, to this end

that there may be no breach of Peace and disturbance in the Government of the State.

Hence *Leo* Emperour made an Edict of union Called ἑνωτικόν; that all the different Religions within his Dominions might live quietly and friendly together. For the same Cause *Anastasius* made a Law of *Amnesty* and accounted those the best *Preachers* that were *moderate*.

Since there must be *Heresies* and our judgments are as *different* as our Faces; since breeding and education doth so much sway, and hath so great influence on many Religions; and that *Sectaries* are grown numerous; we ought to have a Latitude of Charity for those that *dissent*, if they be not *Impostors*, or turbulent *Incendiaries*. *Dissenters* in Controversies are obliged to a *mutual toleration*. We cannot be ignorant of other States and Kingdomes (and now very lately in the Empire and *Denmark*) those that Dissent from the Religion publikely authorized, are permitted and secured so long, as they do not affront *Civil* or *Ecclesiastick Laws*. For true Christianity

Chriſtianity addeth ſuch force and vigour to *Civil* Power by planting in Mens hearts the awe of Religion (which is the main pillar of obedience) by weeding out ſuch Errors, as *humane authority* would have much adoe to pluck up.

CAP. IV.

Toleration or Liberty improperly taken and unlimited is neither reaſonable nor juſtifiable.

I Dare not poſitively affirm that the Civil Magiſtrate is not to intermeddle at all in matters of Religion: but how far he is to proceed and not exceed his Commiſſion is diſputable; ſeeing learned Divines generally hold that the bond between the Magiſtrate, and the Subject is eſſentially *Civil.*

Querulous perſons have ſhown a *Childiſhneſs* in their complaints; without telling what the very thing is that troubles them, and how far they would have it removed;

removed; and ſo complain for want of *Liberty*, becauſe they have not their *Wills:* cry out before they know their own minds *fully*, or take care the Magiſtrate ſhall know them otherwiſe then by *inſpiration.*

Its the opinion of injudicious furious Spirits that no truth is to be ſilenced for Peace, or forborn for *ſpiritual* advantage or true neceſſity. For every one to hold what he pleaſeth, and publiſh and Preach what he holds, confined to no rule of Order, but *contemning* law, will rule as *Tranſcendents.* For as *Plato* ſaith, its a temerarious Liberty, to pronounce of what is known and unknown with like confidence. Tell us of obeying the Laws of God as long as you pleaſe, I dare not believe you as long as you break the Laws of thoſe appointed to rule over you: it is a *diſtinction* without difference, to ſeparate and divide the Laws of Men, from the Laws of God; for unleſs we obſerve both we obey neither, ſaith *Hooker*, *l.* 3. *c.* 107.

Here I confeſs Chriſtian Governours are not to regard ſuch *pleas* for private

Liberty as overthrow the Publick Order and Peace, nor to regard those *Clamours* against them and the Laws as *persecuting*: when they do but oppose and restrain such perillous *exorbitancies*; as have no savour of reason or Religion, which strikes at the *foundation* of Christianity, and openeth a gap to *Atheism*, *Profaneness* and *Blasphemy*. Here the Magistrate must interpose his *Coercive Power* for remedy. Nor are they in this *infringers* of the Peoples Liberty, but preservers of Freedome: not *oppressors* of others Consciences, but dischargers of their own.

Its a false *Liberty* to imagine our *Liberty* consists in speaking or doing what we List, without regard to God or man. Its no freedom for a man to think what he lists, in vain, erroneous, *Blasphemous* thoughts, or to bolt out and vent his raw indigested and rotten *fancies*, or *irreligious opinions* to others: its far from *Christian Liberty*, for any Christian to start up loose Principles, destructive to Government, subverting Order, *violating Laws*, breaking Oaths and Covenants; contemning Authority: for

for every one to hold what he pleaſeth, and publiſh and Preach what he holds; upon light *popular* and untried grounds: and publickly to act according to his private *perſwaſions*, *paſſions* luſts, or intereſts: wherein neither right reaſon, nor common Order, nor *publick peace*, nor Conſcience of Duty, nor fear of God have any ſuch ſerious *tyes* upon men as neceſſary to the common good.

No Chriſtian I ſay can *religiouſly* plead for a Liberty, *ſeditiouſly* and *factiouſly*, to broach to others any new opinions he pleaſeth. Nor may any part of men (though never ſo godly) carry on any *deſign* (though it may be better than what at preſent may be) by any *violent*, *irregular* and diſorderly ways. For every Chriſtian duty hath its Bounds beyond which it is not true and virtuous Liberty, but *inordinateneſs* and exceſs. Some mens *pedantick incivilities* to the Conſciences of others may be *inſtructive* to us, as to convince the neceſſity of ſetting out true bounds of *Liberty*; which ſhould not be granted on other terms, then as far as it conduceth to Gods honour and the Peoples good. For if publick

lick power ſhould ſuffer *arrogant ignorance*, exceſs of paſſion, perverſneſs of will, to come to its full rudeneſs and extent: tumultuary numbers and brutiſh Power will ſoon make good private preſumptions; and cover over the moſt *impotent Luſts*, paſſions and ambitions of men, with the *pleas* and outcryes of Chriſtian *Liberty*.

For that is no other *freedome*, then that as water enjoys when it *overbears* and overflows her Banks and Bounds: and ſuch as the envious and *malitious* Devils *affects*, and are moſt impatient not to enjoy: nor may they be touched or curbed by any authority in Church or State, be their extravagancies never ſo *blaſphemous*; but preſently they make great *clamours* of *perſecution*: as if all were *perſecutors* who helped to bind a Mad-man, or put a roaring drunkard into the Cage.

The *vitious* are not to be counted into the ſort of *meer Diſſenters*. *Socinians* who are enemies to the Bleſſed Trinity; *Atheiſts* who hold Principles deſtructive to *Chriſtianity*, and thoſe *Parties* whoſe Religion forbids *ſubjection*, and

and carries an oppoſition to civil Government; and Commands by Fire, and Sword to erect their new Spiritual Kingdom. And thoſe who hold forth *notions* and *conceptions reforming* or wholly changing the ſtate of Religion and Government; and in order to that ſhake even the *frame* of *Civil* things; to which they think themſelves no longer bound in ſubjection, then they want a party ſtrong enough for oppoſition: nor will they eaſily be perſwaded that it is the ſin of *Rebellion*, carries the face of *reformation*: eaſily diſpenſing with *obedience* to men, where they *pretend amendment* before God: putting on Sheeps Cloathing to no other purpoſe but the renting of *Chriſts ſeemleſs Coat.* Sow to themſelves leaves of *frivolous pretences*; diſpute, Preach, Plead, Clamour, about *moderation* and Liberty, when all the *immoderation* is in themſelves, contend to have *priviledges*, *prerogatives*, *freedome regulated* ſo and ſo: yet would they examine themſelves, nothing needs more regulation then their own judgments, *opinions* and humours.

There be others of hotter *tempers*, more

more Cholerick Conſtitutions, and feaveriſh complexions, have ſuch *ferocious* Spirits like pampered Horſes whom no ground will hold: dayly neighing after *novelties*: who love to be moving in the troubled waters of ſecular affairs, who ſeem moſt impatient of any order or publick rule in which they have not ſome ſtroak or influence: ready to undo whatever is done without them; their Breſt is full of turbulent and ſeditious Spirits as the *Cave* of *Æolus* of Winds. Forgetting what Spirit becomes followers of the Goſpel: whoſe heads are prone to move their hearts with *Specious novelties*, quick *excitations*, and *zealous* reſolutions, which ſoon after (like ſalt-ſtreams) deſcend and fall upon their Lungs provoking them violently to the ſpreading their opinions to others, till they ſee the Children of their *brains* prove meer abortions. To the miſguided *activity* of ſuch (even Miniſters) the *Commonalty* may owe much of its troubles.

Theſe only and the like moſt truly *forfeit* their Chriſtian private *Liberty*, to the publick *diſcretion* and power: who

who will not, or cannot uſe it, but to the publick *detriment*. Beware then of *Compliances* with, and indulgence to all ſorts, *Sects* and *Schiſms* pleaded for: as if it were a part of *Chriſts Legacy* and *Peoples Liberty* to be tolerated in any Actions or Opinions never ſo *pernicious*. Saint *Paul* beſeecheth the Romans to mark thoſe that Cauſe *diviſions* and *offences contrary to the doctrine received*, Rom. 4. 6, 17.

As an abſolute *unity* in judgment is not to be attained in this Life: ſo an univerſal or abſolute *Liberty* is not to be permitted or indulged in things *injurious* to God. Toleration of all things is a deſtructive principle to State and Church, a Cloak to Licentiouſneſs, uſhereth in *Atheiſm* and *Libertiniſm*; Tranſports Men oft-times to ſuch *exceſſes* beyond thoſe bounds of duty which as Subjects we ought to obſerve; Hath many Latitudes, *evaſions*, and *diſtinctions* to *unravel* the Cords of any Oaths, and untwiſt the Bonds of any Covenant or *Proteſtations*.

Thoſe who are moſt *pregnant* and impatient of holding in their *Opinions* on

on the *pretence* of Truth, do but proudly esteem their own understandings *pretious*: to vend some raw and *indigested notions*. The Devil usually *pretends* Truth to Cover his Lyes. Clamour must not prevail but reason. Is it to follow the direction of Christ to Preach on the House-top? If there were a *Nero* or *Diocletian* at the Helm, who should threaten to mingle our Blood with our *Sacrifices*, if you had your *Antelucana*, and should flock into Caves of the Earth to worship Christ, your *zeal* would be more tolerable.

True Christian *toleration* extends not to matters of an *extern* nature: wherefore Magistrates may use a *Coercive hinderance* from *publick Meetings*, without impeaching it. When Subjects have expressed a due *Regulation* in it, then is a King in Capacity to shew a *God-like benignity* and Power in granting the things they ask, as conducing to God's honour and the Peoples Good: nor is it *rational* to be granted on other terms. For Religion cannot be defend-

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ed by *tranſgreſſion* of God's Commands, which are the rule of it.

The true Liberty of conſcience of any man, conſiſts in a Conſtant *tendency* or *intention* to the Supream end, and thoſe holy *regulations* which God hath preſcribed; as it ſtands in referrence to God its Creator, and its Neighbour; Wherein a Chriſtian is free to declare and utter them, to know, conſider, *meditate* of; and believe whatever Truth God hath revealed; When he is free to declare and utter them in ſuch a holy way, which *Charity*, *Sobriety*, *Modeſty*, *Order* and *Gravity* allow: or conferring ſo with others, as may have ſome ſavour of Reaſon and Religion, in an humble and *holy deſire* to learn, or teach in a regular, not in a rude, *inſolent* and *imperious way*. A wiſe humble Chriſtian is never far from his refuge, and when purſued and urged, beyond what he thinks agreeable to good Conſcience, he is not to ſeek for, or take Foxes ſhifts, ſubtil windings, or *ſinful covert.*

verts: Is more willing to hear, then earneſt to object, and labours to acquieſce in others *ſatisfaction*, as well as his own, becomes all things to all men in regard of things *Civil* and extern.

Cap. V.

CAP. V.

Whether the Romaniſts have not a juſt and equal title to Toleration?

Uch is the multiplying of that *breath giving* Life, which God hath caſt upon ſlime and duſt: as every one hath received a ſeveral external figure of Face, and every one a diverſe internal *form* of *mind*, every one a *Cogitation* and *fancy diſtant*: from whence it cometh that there is ſo great diverſity of Opinions; ſo ſtrange a contrariety of *inclinations*; ſo different affections and paſſions in mortal men, that no ordinary means is forcible enough to perſwade them to any thing to which their private *Spirits* or *imaginations* are not inclined. Hence

ſo many Scripture *interpretations*, ſo many *quarrels* and *diviſions* in Religion even to *Maſſacres*. Evils unknown to the very Heathens. Hence we have often ſeen good, by falſe *repreſentations* may paſs for *abominable*, in the ſight of *ſober men*.

Hence the *inconſiderate* multitude prejudiced by *education*, paſſion, intereſt, or falſe Teachers; repreſenting the Roman Church to them as a *Monſter* compoſed of all ſort of *abomination*, having their Ears perpetually beaten with ſeven Hills, *Antichriſt*, *Idolatry*, *Superſtition*: by many unchriſtian *aſperſions*, *falſe pretences*, by private forgeries and *publick impreſſions wounding* moſt Chriſtian and *innocent* men. How can they otherwiſe but hate them, they know no better? and even ſuck from their firſt Milk ſuch an ill Opinion, or *odium* of them, as if they were *Turks* or *Jews* and had principles deſtructive to common Society, Peace and Concord.

What a Wonder, and what a Lamentation is it that thoſe men who cry out ſo much for *forbearance* to Magiſtrates, ſhould themſelves be ſo rigid, and can leſs

leſs *forbear diſſenters*; or ſee the ſame ſin in themſelves? So juſtifie all their *Cruelties* and think perſecution to be their Duty. Whence is perſecution but from thinking ill of others, abhorring and not loving them? condemning them without hearing, bearing them down not with *ſincere and plain dealing*, becoming Chriſtians: with inveterate malice filling Books with *trivial Stories* and Fables, pickt up out of Authors without diſcretion; make it their buſineſs to ſeek calumnies and *reproaches* in the Sepulchres and Common-ſhores of *Schiſmaticks*; with untrue reporting of *Doctrins*, falſe and unjuſt *Criminations*; and other indirect wayes unſeemly and unworthy the Cauſe of Truth, to the *diſhonour* of God, and diſparagement of Chriſtian Religion.

Reading a Treatiſe lately Printed againſt *Toleration*, by an univerſity Scholar. Had this *Dilemma*, if Liberty or *Toleration* may be granted, either an *univerſal Toleration* or particular: not an univerſal; for then ſaith he *Papiſts may* be tolerated: which is againſt all. As if all the Monſters of *Ægypt* may be admitted ſo the *Papiſts* be excluded. Yet

we must know if there had been no *Papists* in the World, no other *Sect* among us had ever heard of Christianity.

If we knew all the Evils may ensue, we should then be forced to Check the People from *railing*; and let them feel our anger who would deceive us with Lies. Nor can we look on those men as either of wit or honesty, who are ever promoting the harassing of a faithful party, *needlessly* to disoblige their fellow Subjects and Sufferers.

Wherefore to undeceive the so long abused and deluded multitude, I will endeavour in the ensuing discourse to wipe of the *Paint* and *Fucus*: that so things may appear in their true complexion *unadulterated*, with the slights and subtilties of deluders. I have chosen rather to expose these lines to Censure than to forbear to speak or be *silent* in the Cause and Defence of the Innocent. *Silui a bonis*, saith the Prophet, *& dolor meus renovatus est?* in the following lines shall be shewed that the Law of God, Christian Religion, nature, reason and our own principles doth oblige us to more charitable censures of the Roman Religion.

Religion. And that they are as highly (if not more) *entitled* to the true Chriſtian Liberty of Conſcience, than any other Sect or Religion whatſoever: all objections to the contrary cleared and evinced to any rational or impartial Reader.

If it remains as a *Probatum eſt*; that no Chriſtian ought to be compelled in matters of Faith or Religion (provided it broacheth forth no new Sects or Schiſms, or that it be not in Caſe of Scandal or open blaſphemy.) And if the Fundamental Laws and Government were eſtabliſhed as a Defence and Protection to all ſober peaceable Chriſtians; that immunity and freedom of Conſcience ought to be indulged to *Diſſenters* in this ſenſe, it being their due right; and not only granted in policy to ſome perſons or to oblige a party; (or to be enjoyed by the ſtrongeſt and *ſubtileſt* only, to curb and ſubiect the reſt, as is ſhewed before) there can be no ground able to convince any rational man why *Papiſts* ſhould be excluded this *priviledge*; unleſs we infringe the Laws and Government: by not diſtributing equal and *impartial ju-*

ſtice; nay the truth of this aſſertion is more evident and *convincing* for them, then any.

Primo, It is againſt reaſon and all examples of antiquity for men to be puniſhed for adhering to the Religion of their Fore-fathers. Now the Roman-Catholick Religion was the firſt Chriſtian Religion planted in our native Country, from whom we had and have our very Chriſtianity; the firſt *univerſally ſpread* and *preached*: by Government permitted and encouraged; by *Counſels*, and *Parliaments* confirmed and approved, a thouſand years there continued; even by our deceaſed kindred and parents not long ſince profeſſed; by our Univerſities eſtabliſhed and defended againſt all Adverſaries. From whence we derive even the Scripture it ſelf, our *ordinations*, moſt of our material Churches, Colledges, *Inns of Court*, Hoſpitals, *&c.* and ſhall Charity ever be ſo buried in Oblivion in *England*, that the Poſterity of thoſe, from whom we muſt confeſs to have received theſe and other great advantages, never be remembred and uſed with equity and common Juſtice?

To

They are linked in Religion to all Catholick *Princes* and *Countries* about us: who will be more loving Neighbours if they ſee their Brethren find favour from us.

To perſecute this Religion is to War againſt our *Progenitors.* It is this Church in which ſo many *Martyrs* have dyed; ſo many *Doctors* have taught and *preached,* ſo many Virgins have lived in fleſh like *Angels*; ſo many *Saints* wrought wonders and *miracles:* ſo many Councils called; ſo many Eccleſiaſtical Laws enacted; ſo many Nations converted: ſo many Kings and Emperors lived and died and hope to be ſaved: againſt which ſo many *perſecutors, Machiavels* and *Tyrants* in vain have uſed torments, and contrived all imaginable force, *wicked policy,* or *cruelty* could invent.

This Faith hath the beſt evidence as taught and inſtituted by Chriſt his Apoſtles and Succeſſors, in an uninterrupted *ſeries* and delivery down to us. Set before your eyes thoſe glorious Champions of Chriſts Church. *Conſtantines, Theodoſ. Pepines, Charles,* all ſirnamed *Great,* more Glorious for Victories over

Hereſies and Idolatries; than for conqueſts of Countries: more renowned for propagating Catholick Religion, than enlarging their Dominions. See the Catalogue of noble Kings of *England*, *Lucius*, *Ethelbert*, *Egbert*, *Oſwald*, *Oſwine*, *Alfred*, *Edgar*, before the conqueſt; *William* the Conqueror, and ſo many *Henries*, *Edwards*, *Richards* after the Conqueſt: mighty of force, rich of Treaſure, ſo noble of birth, ſo fortunate in Wars, zealous in Religion, who builded ſo many *Hoſpitals*; founded ſo many *Monaſteries*, enacted ſuch wholſome *Laws* and *Statutes*, got ſo many Victories in *France*, *&c.* even to *Paleſtine* it Self all profeſſed Roman Catholicks.

Secundo, It deſerves one *obſervation*, that when Chriſtianity became the ruling Religion of the World under the great *Conſtantine*, and Emperours; his immediate Succeſſors, the very Heathens themſelves, were exempt from all manner of ſeverity, upon the ſcore of their Religion. Becauſe they were in poſſeſſion of it by diſcent from Father to Son, and not by uſurpation or intruſion. And we have the like preſident in our own

own Country. For when King *Ethelbert* had embraced the Chriſtian Faith by the preaching of Saint *Auſtin*, he would not force his own Subjects (though Pagans) to receive it. *Beda l.* 1. *c.* 260.

For this reaſon it was that the great Apoſtles treated the Synagogue (whoſe Religion at that time was vacuated) and conſequently void of Truth, with ſo much reſpect and condeſcendency: and that afterwards the moſt primitive Fathers uſed ſo often this *expreſſion*; that the *Synagogue ought to be buried with honour.*

Whence one of our Proteſtant Divines ſaith, even by the Law of *Seniority* Catholicks might exſpect ſome favour. For what priviledges or *immunities* have we, but the old Church gave us? whence had we our *Bible*, *Creed*, *Honors*, *Donations*, *commendable Ceremonies*, *charitable Foundations*? had not they preſerved them faithfully, we never had found them.

The firſt poſſeſſion of a man is a good title by the Law of Nature until an elder; or the Law of Reaſon (which with

with mankind is to have pre-eminence) diſpoſſeſſes it. The Roman Church had a poſſeſſion *unqueſtionable* for above a thouſand years, and the Pope enjoyed *juriſdiction* a longer time, than any *ſucceſſion* of Princes can pretend to, and ſubmitted to by all our Anceſtors. In Catholick Religion, they ſtand as *defenders*, others as *invaders*, they as *poſſeſſors*, others as *diſſeiſors*; they ſeek to keep what *de jure* they had; *Calvin*, and others what they had not. There is a vaſt difference in theſe two Caſes, to oppoſe by force the introducement of innovations, and to attempt by force the extinguiſhment of an ancient Religion of which the People are univerſally in a quiet and *immemorial* poſſeſſion. The one drives others out of poſſeſſion, the other maintains himſelf: the one invades his neighbours rights, the other defends his own.

Apoſtacy and innovation with ſome colour of right have been oft in ſeveral ages perſecuted by rigour of Laws even by Proteſtants; and the reaſon, is becauſe *innovation* in Religion moſt commonly breeds diſturbance in the Common-wealth.

Natural

Natural reaſon teaches that no particular man is to be condemned much leſs deprived of what he ſtands poſſeſſed, till his cauſe be judiciouſly heard and ſentenced. ---Nor ought any man to be Judg in his own Cauſe.

But penal Laws and *Oaths* made in contempt and *derogation* of that Religion which through all Chriſtendom abounds with learning *civility* and *loyalty*; whoſe Doctrin amongſt the primitive, greateſt, and moſt *learned ſocieties*, hath been and is avouched; in moſt Nations and Kingdoms allowed; and more freely exerciſed and permitted: eſtabliſhed by the Laws in which our Predeceſſors were born and continued; wherein all our Progenitors, all the Peers Eccleſiaſt. Nobles and Princes of our Realm in *precedent* ages thought themſelves happy and honourable. If they had imagined that in future times their Poſterity would revile that Religion with *Epithets* unbeſeeming humane (much leſs) Chriſtian Ears, what an opinion would they have *preconceived* of us?

It was ſaid by King *James* one of the moſt learned Princes (not in private, but in

in open Parliament represented) I acknowlege the Roman Church to be our Mother Church although defiled with *infirmities* and corruptions. Is it not then a kind of Spiritual Parracide in the Daughter not only to revile the Mother, or which is worse scratch her by the Face, call her Whore, *Superstitious*, *Idolatrous*, *&c.* on whose Knees you have been dandled, nourished by her Breasts, and carried in her Womb? Hear O you Heavens and *give ear* O earth, I *have* nourished *and brought up Children and they have rebelled against me*, Isa. 1. 2.

Let it be allowed some corruptions be of our aged Mother, this should be no warrant for cruelty, but rather a motive of compassion: especially considering that (by confession of all her adversaries) those pretended failings are of no modern date; but such as they are now, such likewise they were, when first Christianity was received by English-men under King *Ethelbert*.

The Church of *England* who Glory in their *succession* of Bishops; (and in this is *singular* from other Reformers) acknowledge, they *immediately* derive their

their true and lawful Ordination and *miſſion*; and from whom their firſt Miniſtry, *viz. Cranmer, Baker, &c.* were Conſecrated: and conſequently that the *Roman Church* conveyed *divine right* and authority from Chriſt to them; the very *eſſence* and being of Religion. Which Church notwithſtanding they call *Antichriſtian*, Idolatrous, *&c.* abuſing tender Conſciences, ſuppreſs that which themſelves confeſs to be divine Truth: condemn as Traytors and perſecute to death with *premunire*, loſs of fortunes, *&c.* thoſe from whom ſuch *Apoſtolical Graces* and *Functions* proceed and were continued and preſerved. If our ſucceſſion from the Roman be the glory of the Engliſh Church; its our *ſcorn* and *ignominy* to perſecute and revile them.

Tertio, Penal Laws and Statutes againſt the Catholick Religion deſtroyes the ground and *foundation* of *Juſtice*; and the form Judicature. Becauſe the Witneſs can have no evidence for their Teſtimony, the Judges not any for their ſentence, and the Legiſlator as little for the Law.

Primo, There muſt be *evidence* of lawful

ful Witneſſes. In matters of Faith we go *by hearing*, *Rom.* 10. The beſt evidence then of any Religion, is the teſtimony of our deceaſed Predeceſſors and *Anceſtry*, whoſe Faith and Doctrine is freſh in the memories and teſtimonies of the Chriſtian poſterity of the preſent Church. For beſides the Authority of the preſent Church we can have no greater evidence in *foro externo* for the Law of God and Religion; then the teſtimony of precedent ages confirmed with *ſupernatural Signs*: *v. g.* the fourteenth Age delivered to the fifteenth, the Roman Faith which now they profeſs; aſſuring them, that it was the true ſenſe and Letter of Scripture, which they had learned from the thirteenth age and ſo forward to the Apoſtles.

No reformers can produce one lawful Witneſs againſt Catholick Religion, and their ſenſe of Scripture; yet the Greateſt Crimes require at leaſt one lawful Witneſs. For what evidence had the firſt Reformers to oppoſe the teſtimony of all former Ages, confirmed with ſo many miracles; and to make Statutes againſt the known practiced Religion at leaſt

leaſt for nine hundred years? Antiquity affords them none, becauſe though in diverſe Ages ſome odd men did teſtifie ſometimes an errour, they were in thoſe very times contradicted by the Church, and declared *impoſtors* and *innovators*. In this preſent Age no Sectaries can be lawful Witneſſes for their own lately modelled Religion, or againſt the ancient Catholick, becauſe their teſtimonies cannot be valid againſt ſo conſtant an univerſal *Tradition* and practice.

Secundo, Its ridiculous and unjuſt in a Judge to pronounce *ſentence* againſt Roman Catholick upon the *evidence* and teſtimony of *Calvin*, *Luther*, *&c.* as in open Court to condemn men to forfeit their Eſtates and *ancient inheritances*, upon the word of a mad fellow, that produceth no other evidence to confirm his claim; but *interior motions* of the Spirit, or ſome obſcure Text of Law appliable to all Caſes, and Subjects: for all the Proteſtant evidence is reduced to the private Spirit and the pretended *clearneſs* of Scripture.

Tertio, The *Legiſlative* power ought to be *ſubordinate* to Chriſtian Religion, but

but Statutes againſt Catholicks are evidently againſt the Law of God and Chriſtian Religion, if we may credit Antiquity, and ſtick to the Faith and practice of the Church, and Princes that went before us; not only in *England* but all other Chriſtian Kingdomes. This way therefore of proceeding is different from all other Nations, and altereth the Stile of natural reaſon, humane nature, and the practice of all Antiquity; and conſequently deſtroyes the foundation of juſtice and form of *Judicature*.

Quarto, The common temporal *Municipal* Laws (which *Science* above all others next to *Divinity*) doth confirm and evince unto the underſtanding of an Engliſhman the Truth of Catholick Religion: Foraſmuch as from our firſt Chriſtian *Kings* and *Queens*, which muſt needs be the *origin* and beginning of all Chriſtian Common Laws in *England*, unto the reign of *Henry* the eight, all our Princes and People being of one and the ſame Catholick Religion, their Laws muſt needs be preſumed to have been conformed to their ſenſe and judgment in that behalf; and our Lawyers to

to our Laws. So as now to ſee an *Engliſh temporal* Lawyer to impugn the ſaid Catholick Religion by the *antiquity* of the common Laws throughout the times and reigns of the ſaid Kings and Queens, to favour and countenance *Luther*, *Calvin*, *&c.* or any new Opinions, not known before: is as great an abſurdity, novelty and wonder as to ſee a Philoſopher brought up in *Ariſtotles* School, to impugn *Ariſtotle* by *Ariſtotles* learning in favour of *Petrus Ramus*, *Deſcartes* or ſome other new Adverſary.

Catholick Religion never prejudiced any Nation or State (where it had free paſſage) in the leaſt degree; but hath ever been their ſafety, happineſs, and honour. No People or Church in the World ſo great a friend to *loyalty* and *obedience*: they have the repute of honeſt men, *patient* and *charitable*; carry themſelves *civilly* and *religiouſly*; nothing is heard from their mouths of *Blaſphemy* or *Atheiſm*: or that may have ground of not believing, or adoring God alone: or of not hoping to be ſaved by the merits of Jeſus Chriſt. They have lived without juſt complaint ſoci-

able and *amicable.* If they meet you not at Church, they meet you at Market. Do they not buy and ſell with you? Are ready to perform all Offices of good neighbourhood and *civility?* Do they refuſe any kind of temporal duties or payments? Do ye not find them at home and abroad as ſtrict to their promiſes as any others you converſe withall? They cannot be *perſecuted* by any Government that underſtands its own intereſt (unleſs firſt abuſed by falſe Teachers) nor can we deny them what ancient and good Laws have ever allowed; they being no innovators, but Profeſſors of the ſame Religion, which made this Nation Chriſtian. If there were no other *Apology* for peaceable men but only thoſe *Pleas* of Conſcience tendered to publick view, thoſe ought not to be unconſidered by ſuch as profeſs *Chriſtianity.*

Never any Acts of *Uniformity* could expel Papiſts out of heretical Countries. Do ye know what you ask when you are ſtill urging the execution of preſſures againſt Catholicks? even their blood, life and fortunes? can any *Chriſtian zeal* be

be ſo *irregular?* Can this come from the Spirit of the *Goſpel?* Is this wiſdome from above? Whence comes all this anger? What evil have they done? What maximes have they ſo rough and *unreaſonable* that they muſt be taken away by the Sword? Why ſhould we be ſo bloody in our Tenets? How can our paſſions be ſo intemperate? Our mercies ſo cruel? To them whoſe Faith was eſtabliſhed by our Fundamental Laws, and maintenance of it, ſworn to at leaſt by twenty of our *Monarchs*; even by Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf. Why muſt the Papiſts be thus *ſingled* out from all the reſt and forced to forfeit all advantages, or forſake his *Conſcience?* They only expoſed to publick hatred and rigour, though they only leaſt deſerve it.

Shall we extinguiſh all *conſiderations* of equity and charity towards them, of whoſe honeſty we are aſſured by their Long and Patient Sufferings; rather than they would renounce their Conſcience towards God? who are ready to abjure what is, or may be objected as only *dangerous* in their Religion; who

have given evidences already they will perform those *Oaths*, and that they cannot be absolved from them? If we apprehend their *principles* and *doctrines* are inconsistent with the *Gospel* or *Civil* Government: grant them a free Conference, about the points in question, which are those *Tenets* carry an opposition to either? and if upon *impartial* enquiry they are found so *Heterodox* as represented, then inflict *penalties*. If their *Ecclesiasticks* are not able to justifie both their Religion and Principles; let them renounce all mercy.

This offer is very fair and equal, a *Vindication* of Justice, and a legal proceeding against the *Criminal*. And the contrary (how plausible soever represented) pretending thereby to do God good service) is most injurious to the Peace, *Christian meekness*, Reason, Religion, or Charity: and *destructive* to that prudential Ballance the wisest and best States have ever carefully observ'd. Who always after questions of Religion freely discussed, relieved the *distresses* of tender and innocent *Consciences*.

We must not judge of them, or any other,

other, by the private and perhaps miſinterpretable *aſſertions* of ſome particular Doctors: but by the avowed principles of their belief. This is the *baſis* on which they build the rule, by which they walk in point of obedience, to God and man: or if you would judg of them by their proceedings, and addreſſes, their frequent petitions, profeſſions, proteſtations of all juſt obedience; will ſufficiently clear them. If by their practice, and manner of lives; their quiet deportment and manner of living and converſing with all men: yea even their prayers and wiſhes (which they dayly make unto Almighty God in behalf of their *Prince* and Country) do ſhew how innocent they are; and how little they deſerve thoſe black *aſperſions* and *calumnies* ſome *raſh Satyriſts* are ſo diligent to caſt upon them. In *charity* we are bound to believe the beſt of others, and alſo to think they ſpeak true when we cannot prove the contrary.

Some *deſtine* them to deſtruction and *extirpation*, as *Agapete* did the *Jews*, Are ſo *eager* declaimers of their corruptions, opinions; and not conſidering that

like *Gehezi*, the leproſie of thoſe *Syrians* c'eaves to moſt of their own Foreheads. Nor taking any notice of the objections ſtanding in force againſt themſelves.

The Cry againſt the Papiſts is but the *Prologue:* it was the *Epidemical Frenzy* in *Germany* a hundred years ſince, which turned into ſmoke and *confuſion*. I wiſh it might not be truly ſaid that thoſe very perſons, againſt whom you ſo *bitterly* ſharpen and pen your *invectives* (as if none were Sinners but they) none were more dangerous; or their practices leſs *pernicious* in the Face of the Sun.

Such is the general inclination and temper of all Engliſh Catholicks that *preces* and *lachrymæ*, are their only weapons: an innocent and *paſſive* People, as experience of their quiet behaviour, ſo many years of hard times, have clearly ſhewn. Suffering with that *patience*, *humility*, *equanimity*, and reſigned temper of Spirit (imitating their grand Exemplar *Jeſus Chriſt*) as if thoſe virtues were *innate*, and moſt natural to them. Nor can I think but thoſe men who are ſo hardned in their *malice* and

and perſecution againſt them, do often hear a voice *ſecretly* calling within them. O ye *Sauls*, why do ye perſecute me in my Servants ?

Why ſhould you be troubled, Papiſts are not more troubled than your ſelves ? Why ſhould you grudge at their peace and protection ? So long as they are *peaceable*, either actively obey the Laws, or elſe *paſſively* ready to ſubmit to the penalties : They are objects of pity rather than envy.

They have formerly lived in their own native Country with leſs *priviledges* than Strangers ; are excluded from all Offices. By Laws *obnoxious* to greater ſufferings than Enemies. Have ſuffered loſs of Goods and Livings. Whoſe Adverſaries have left no Stone unrolled, no corner unſearched, no Purſuivants uncommiſſioned to *tyrannize* over their Conſciences : burnt their *Antiquaries*, conſumed their Monuments, violated their Virgins, racked even the very Souls of Men with Oaths, when in humane *prudence* there was no fear : but God hath ſhewed his juſt *chaſtiſements* and judgments upon the chief Actors, *contrivers* and Abetters.

Can we be such publick *contradictors* of our own declared principles (whereby we disclaim and profess against Persecution) as still to continue our mulcts and penalties upon those whose condition have been such as every one might abuse them in the Streets: (even with satisfaction to some) discredited, contemned, trodden under every mans foot that listeth to spoil them. To lie in prisons, dungeons, *fetters*, to be racked, bowelled, and boyled alive. We have seen their *families* impoverished, their houses invaded by saucy Officers; their lives forfeited as *Traytors*, for entertaining those, without whom they could not live but as *Pagans*. Have been deprived of performing any Service to God, debarred of any *civil* imployments in the Nation, they were otherwise capable of. These miseries have they groaned under without any demerit of their own part; these sour hearbs have they patiently and quietly tasted. Would it not be an unreasonable *president* and incitement, towards our brethren, and all Nations abroad; if we should begin again in the same Cup at home?

Some

Some have ſo blackened and put them in ſo ſtrange and *monſtrous* a *dreſs*, by calling them *members* of *Babylon*, Antichriſt, Idolaters, *&c.* that I dare boldly aver that ſome of the ſeduced *herd* who are ignorant of their *meek*, *humble*, *innocent and pious documents*, (of which the whole world is to this time witneſs) do ſcarce believe them to be Men, (or if ſo) yet that they are ſome terrible *Cannibals* that came out of ſome ſtrange Lands.

Be pleaſed to conſider, you aſperſe not one, but many: and thoſe who have given beſt *evidence* of being *truly tender Conſciences*: Since they ſuffered ſo *generally*, ſo *conſtantly* ſo *deeply*. If your *paſſion* will not, at leaſt your charity ought to think better: For if you prove not, what you ſay againſt them; you are guilty of the breach of the *Mandate*, of love to your neighbour, in as great a height as *circumſtances* can improve a ſin to.

Every Chriſtian will have a Share in the *injury*; and a title to be righted, and demand *ſatisfaction*. Muſt they

they carry all our Sins on their backs? Muſt our faults be whipt on them? and they made particular oblations for us? is not this to act the part of curſed *Cham* over again? or to be conformable to *Core* and his company? by a wilful kind of *Sophiſtry* ſtill caſting all the *odium* upon them? Can no *Ellobore* Purge this *Frenzie*? Shall we alwaies like Flies dwell upon ſome particular Ulcers? And for ſome miſdemeanors, miſcarriages, or the looſe lives of a few, traduce and defame the whole Profeſſion and aggravate their failings? We know it were no difficulty to recriminate in this kind, and repay you with the ſame dirt, if it were any pleaſure to ſcramble in ſuch a Puddle.

As great an *averſion* and *Antipathy* as you have againſt them, 'tis worth your labour herein, to make them your own examples in point of obedience and Government; and ſo in reſpect of publick *Peace* and *Tranquillity*.

It were to be wiſhed by all honeſt men of what *perſwaſion* ſoever that a juſt and equal Liberty in matter of Conſcience,

Conſcience, were granted unto all; if but for this only reſpect, *viz.* that ſo by a *free confident*, and friendly converſation one with another, void of *ſuſpition*, and *jealonſie*, *fear* or danger, to one party or other: and by amicable diſcourſe and debating of things, truth might come more clearly to be diſcovered. But this is a work hath ſo much of God and good in it, as it muſt exſpect many Adverſaries. *Moderation* or true Liberty meets with ſo many *enormities*, *exorbitancies* and obſtacles to reſiſt and retard it.

Had we but a due latitude of candour and charity towards others, or underſtood our own *happineſs*; and took things in the beſt ſenſe: Sure thoſe *billows* and *waves* would ceaſe *roaring*. Were men ſo ingenuous to promote *peaceable* order as they are watchful to find knots in Bulruſhes, and torture their brains to find ſcruples in what is moſt *plain*: and ſtood againſt the *tempeſts* and ſhakings of *virulent* Tongues and *cankered calumnies*: our heats and animoſities from *difference*

difference in opinion would *gradually* decay; and a foundation would be laid; On which to raise a considerable Structure of Peace to Church and State, and *Prosperity* to the Nation.

Cap. VI.

CAP. VI.

Perſecution of Recuſants is againſt our own Principles and Conceſſions.

PRoteſtant *Religion* doth indemnifie us in the Court of Conſcience for *believing* in matters of Religion according to the *Dictates* of our own *private judgment*; or rather doth oblige us to do it. For as Biſhop *Gauden* a learned Proteſtant ſaith, 'If it be not lawful for every one 'to be guided by his private *Spirit* and '*Judgement* in *Religion*, it will hardly be 'poſſible to acquit our *ſeparation* from 'the *Roman* Church of the guilt of '*Schiſm*. NOr doth it ſeem worthy of 'Chriſt who hath left us a Religion full 'of *Myſteries*, and not any viſible Judg

of

of them : to have *designed* about those any visible executioners. This premised, I argue thus.

Where there is a liberty of *examining* and judging, there must be a freedome of *election* upon such judgment : but the Church of *England*, *v. g.* in her Doctrine alloweth men to *search* the Scriptures, and examine whether her *Doctrine* be agreeable to Scripture or no : Therefore the Church of *England* and other Reformed cannot in reason and equity persecute such men as in *foro conscientiæ*, shall upon such due *examination* of judgment, dissent from their Doctrine.

If this *principle* pass current amongst us, that every one may *read*, judg and *interpret* Scripture : (which is by us the judg of *Controversies*) the only rule to guide us to Faith : we are bound to give Liberty of Conscience to others. Whence one of our own Doctors saith, 'Our Bishops who have declared the 'Doctrine of giving *freedome* of Conscience, what every one in their private 'judgments, do of *discretion* hold to be 'most conformable to Gods Word : yet they very inconsequently and *disingenuously*

ouſly excite our Governours, to force their Conſcience to an exterior *Conformity.*

Secondly, We confeſs the Church of *England* and all Churches may erre, and for ought we know do erre, and lead into error: and ſuch an *uncertain* and *fallible* guide or ground to rely on, is not proportionable to the nature and *quality* of Faith; which muſt be *certain* and *infallible*: with an internal conſent of the Will, and ſubjection of our underſtandings to *revealed* Truths. Our Senſes may be deluded, but Faith not: for it muſt be more firm and *certain* than any thing we ſee or *feel.*

Suppoſing then the Reformed Churches fallible: will it not be a moſt unreaſonable thing, to be ſtill exacting of Recuſants, by *rigorous Sequeſtrations, Oaths* and what other penalties they think fit: to leave and forſake the Church and *Faith* which they ſo *groundedly* hold to be the *infallible* guide, *appointed* by God himſelf, as the only means to direct them *ſecurely* to *eternal Salvation*? And to yield *exterior* conformity to our own new moulded Church

we

we all profeſs to be fallible? Or to be forced to embrace a *Doctrine* deduced by fallible *interpretations* out of Scripture, which *interpretations*, the far greater and learneder part of this very age reject as *Heretical:* and which as ſuch were rejected by almoſt all viſible *Chriſtianity* for theſe thouſand years. And which perhaps may ſhortly be rejected by us. We having oft-times rejected that which we cryed up before for *verity*: and the Religion now in vogue not many years ago was cryed down.

If our Church be not then *infallible*, in what we teach againſt them, but may embrace a lye, for a *divine Truth*: they need not to vindicate and juſtifie their moſt juſt *recuſancy* in refuſing to ſubmit; when we provide them no better ſecurity: but force them to refuſe due ſubmiſſion to that infallible *direction* appointed by *divine* Writ to bring them ſecurely to their end. To which the moſt *religious*, the moſt *learned*, and the major part of Chriſtians ever yet thought and ſubmitted too. If I ſhould diſobey the *ſentence* of the Church, upon what

what other authority can I more prudently rely? What *Labyrinths* and *Abyſmes* ſhould I fall into? How can we force and draw others to our Churches, if we cannot agree where and how to lay our Foundation? How can we impoſe upon and reſtrain others; whom we are ſo far from aſſuring of Truth, as we pretend to be but uncertain of it: and are not able to do ſo much for our ſelves? being liable to change, and no ways certain of our own belief to be the moſt infallible? as our multiplied Conceſſions are pregnant inſtances. What is this but to put certain penalties upon an uncertain Faith? And if our Teachers agree not in all points of Religion: the Diſſenters in controverſie are obliged to allow a *mutual toleration.*

If we ſay the *Roman* Church erred for 900. years till our *Reformation* we exclude our ſelves from all poſſible *aſſurance* of true Faith or *Salvation.* And to arrogate to our Selves, or to attribute to private perſons or Paſtors the *all-defining* Spirit; which we deny to the whole Church repreſented in a general Council is abſurd. His preſumption muſt

needs be vaſt that builds more on his own *tenet*, then the *mature* judgment of all *ſucceſſive* Fathers. While he cryes down others for infallible, he lifts himſelf up to be ſo: as if God *revealed* more to him than all the Doctors and Propagators of his Church.

Now let us hear what our own *Divines* acknowledge. Doctor *Taylor* ſaith, ‘---but alas notwithſtanding our Religion thus framed by our Divines; yet ‘it ſeems not ſufficiently *marked*; or the ‘*cognizance* of Schiſm taken away: for ‘yet we have no particular *poſitive* points ‘among us ſetled for undoubted Truths. ‘---thoſe being rather a *medley* of all ‘Religions and new *Sects* profeſſed a‘mong us, or a *negation* of thoſe *tenets* ‘of the Church we went out of; and ‘which ſtood a thouſand years before ‘us, as Hiſtories and Monuments wit‘neſs: which is but a *negative* Faith in ‘effect: for what is poſitive or of Order ‘and Government, is wholly derived ‘and taken from that Religion which ‘not long ſince we pulled down, abo‘minated, and ſo *violently perſecuted.*

Doctor *Gauden* ſaith, ‘I ſee not why ‘Papiſts

'Papiſts may not in *reaſon* of State, have 'and enjoy that liberty (without perturbing the Publick Peace) which Preſbyterians and Independents do enjoy 'in their new ways. For nothing will 'ſavour more of an imperious or *impotent ſpirit* (whoſe Faith and Charity 'are Slaves to Secular Intereſts) than for 'thoſe who have obtained liberty to 'their Novelties; to deny the like *freedome*, to other mens Antiquity; which 'hath *Eccleſiaſtical* practiſe and *precedency* of a thouſand years: beſides the '*preponderancy* of much reaſon, Scripture 'and holy examples. All which to force 'godly, grave, and learned men to renounce, or comply with other ways 'againſt their *judgments*, muſt be a crying Self-condemning ſin; in thoſe men 'who lately approved the ancient 'Church way, and after diſſenting; at 'firſt deſired but a *modeſt* toleration. And in another place ſaith, 'To Fleece 'and depreſs Popiſh Recuſants by pecuniary mulcts, exactions, *&c.* is to ſet 'Religion to ſale, and make Merchandize of Conſcience and mens errors; rather than fairly to perſwade and win

'them by proper and *perſwaſive engines* 'of true Religion.

Thorndike a learned Divine ſaith alſo. 'Certainly it may be juſtifiable for the '*ſecular* power to grant *Papiſts* exerciſe 'of their Religion in private places, under 'ſuch moderate penalties as diſobeying 'the Laws of a mans Country requires. 'For *Perſecution* to Death in that caſe 'the whole Reformation condemns the 'Church of *Rome*. And I conceive there 'is no reaſon for that, which will not 'condemn *Perſecution* to Baniſhment. 'The State may eaſier be ſecured of *Pa-* '*piſts* againſt all ſuch power in the 'Pope, then of our *Sectaries* againſt that 'Diſpenſation to their allegiance; which 'the pretence of Gods *Spirit* may im- 'port when they pleaſe.

'Whereas it is manifeſt that many 'Papiſts hold againſt thoſe *equivocations* 'and *reſervations* which deſtroy all confi- 'dence in the Soveraign in Allegiance. 'Though not ſecured in thoſe that *pre-* '*tend Gods Spirit.* ---Beſides Recuſants 'being for the moſt part of the good '*Families* of the *Nation*, will take it for 'a part of their Nobility freely to pro- 'feſs

'ſeſs themſelves in Religion; whereas 'the *Sectaries* are People of mean qua- 'lity cannot be preſumed to ſtand ſo 'much on their *reputation.* And in ano- 'ther place he ſaith, to proceed to di- 'vide the Church more and more with 'Perſecutions is more deſtructive to the 'ſubſtance of *Chriſtianity*; than all 'that *corruption*, Reformation preten- 'deth to cure.

'*Osborne* a Proteſtant, *Hiſt. mem.* Q. 'E. p. 17. Confeſſeth that againſt the 'poor Catholicks, nothing in relation 'to the generality, remaineth upon due 'proof ſufficient to juſtifie the ſeverity 'of Laws dayly enacted and put in exe- 'cution againſt them. ---All other 'Sects, ſaith he, oppoſe the *Roman* 'with more ſpleen and *animoſity* then 'ordinary, yet they defend themſelves 'and prevail againſt all; ſtill continue, 'and have been the moſt grand and 'principal Body of all *Chriſtian Societies*; 'and the greateſt force and Fortreſs of '*Chriſtianity* againſt Turks, and *Hea- 'theniſh impieties*; and chiefeſt Propa- 'gators of the Goſpel in all Nations, '*&c.*

'I see no reason (saith another Doctor of our English Church) why Papists in *England* should not as well deserve, hope and enjoy; as any other order or *rank* of men *freedome to their Consciences.* Nor can I think but those men who are so hardned in their Malice and *persecution* against them, do often hear a voice secretly call within them. O ye Souls why do ye persecute me in my Servants?

Its a kind of injustice, and an uncharitable course (as I conceive saith he) when we spare them that have no Religion at all; and censure those that can give an account of somewhat tending to that purpose. Shall *Atheists* and *Socinians* Enemies of the blessed Trinity be not looked after? And shall others following the Heresie of *Aerius*, directly opposing the order of Bishops and their *Jurisdiction*; (that is the whole *frame* of the Church of God assembled in the first four general Councils asserted and affirmed to be of *divine right* by Scripture and the Church of *England*) be winked at? And must we only incite our Governours against Papists? Force them upon

upon Baniſhments, Priſons, Perſecutions, Preſſures and Calamities, and uſe ſuch ſeverity againſt that Religion, we our ſelves hold Salvation to be acquired in: who hold all the poſitive Articles with us.

I may loudly proclaim (ſaith Biſhop *Gauden*, with *Samuel* 12. 3.) this Proteſtation in their behalf. Behold the Servants of the Lord and his Church (O Chriſtians cauſleſs Enemies) witneſs againſt them and before the Lord, and before the People. Whoſe Oxe or Aſs have they taken? Whom have they defrauded or oppreſſed? Whoſe hurt or damage have they procured? Whoſe evil of ſin or miſery have they not pitied? What is the injury for which ſo deſolating a *vengeance*, muſt paſs upon them and their whole *Profeſſion*? What is the *Blaſphemy* againſt God or man for which theſe *Naboths*, muſt looſe their lives, liberties, and livelihoods? Wherein have they deſerved ſo ill of former and later Ages, that they ſhould be ſo uſed (as *Ahab* commanded of *Micheas*, and the *Jews* did to *Hieremias*) to be caſt into Priſons, to ſordid and obſcure

reſtraints, or to be expoſed to *Mendicant* liberty, to be fed only with Bread and water of Affliction? What neceſſary Truths of God or righteouſneſs have they detained? What error have they broached, revived, or maintained? What true *Chriſtian liberty* have they impeached? A little after---

They have not light *conjectures*, not partial Cuſtomes, not bare *Profeſſion*, not uncertain *Tradition*, not blind Antiquity ---but evident grounds, Scripture, Succeſſion, Converſion of Nations, planting of Churches all over the known World; crowning their Doctrine with Martyrdome. Authors of beſt credit undeniable; famous in Church through all the firſt Ages, ſhewing us Catholick Religion. And uncontradicted *conſent*, conſtant, and uninterrupted *Succeſſion*---their *great abilities*---Add thoſe *Credential* letters, the teſtimonies and *ſeals* which God hath given of his holy *Spirit*. Laſtly, the *Civil rights* and *priviledges*, the piety of the *Nation*, and the *Laws* of this Land have always given to them by the fulleſt and freeſt conſent of all Eſtates in *Parliament*. theſe ought to be

be regarded much of men of *Juſtice*, honour and conſcience; as not to break all theſe *Sanctions* and Laws aſunder, by which their foreſathers have bound to God, *&c.*

'Whence Doctor *Taylor* in his Book 'concerning the unreaſonableneſs of pre-'ſcribing to other mens Faith in liberty 'of prophecying, §.2.249. that Conſidera-'tions to a charitable Toleration concer-'ning the *Roman* Church, which, ſaith, he 'may eaſily perſwade perſons of much 'reaſon, and more *piety*, to retain that 'which they know to have been the 'Religion of their foreſathers, which 'had actual poſſeſſion and *ſeizure* of men's 'underſtanding before the *oppoſite Pro-'feſſion* had a name.

'Another learned Proteſtant Doctor 'ſaith, the humble *peaceable* and diſcreet 'carriage of them, may juſtly *plead* for 'favour and protection againſt this ca-'lumny of *proneneſs* to *Sedition*, Faction 'or *illegal diſturbance* in *civil* affairs: 'Even in all the unhappy troubles of the 'late years. ---have generally behaved 'themſelves and ſhewed they had no o-'ther deſign than to live a quiet life in 'all

'all *godlineſs* and honeſty. If they 'could not help in *fair* ways to ſteer the 'Ship as they deſired; they did not 'ſeem to ſet it on fire and *overwhelm* it. 'If at any time relating to publick *va-* 'riations and toſſings they could not act 'with *ſatisfied* and good *Conſciences*; 'they humbly bear with ſilence, and ſuf- 'fer with patience. ---*Intentive* chiefly 'and *fearful* to offend God; tender of 'Conſcience and their own Religion. 'Whence.

'The late Biſhop of *Exeter* ſaith, in 'theſe chriſtian bounds of *peaceable* ſub- 'jection, humility and holineſs: if the 'Papiſts in *England* may but obtain ſo 'much declared favour and publick 'countenance (which all other *fraternities* 'and Profeſſions have) as to be ſure to 'enjoy their callings, *libertics*, and pro- 'perties; (which ſeem to be ſo many 'times in great *uncertainties*) under the 'protection and obedience of the Laws) 'it would encourage them; ---and *re-* 'deem them from thoſe *menaces*, *inſolen-* 'cies and *oppreſſions*, of unreaſonable 'men; who look upon them like pub- 'lick *Enemies* and *perdue*; becauſe they

'have

'have little of publick favour and en-
'couragement.

'Chriſtian uſage will no doubt *win*
'more upon them, than thoſe rough
'*ſtorms* and *winds*, wherewith they are
'dayly *threatened*, and are ſtill diſtreſ-
'ſed. Which makes them wrap them-
'ſelves up, as *Elias* in his *hairy* Mantle:
'when they think their lives, *liberties*
'and livelyhoods are ſought after; and
'no ſuch protection like to continue o-
'ver them' they thought in a *Chriſtian*
'*State* and Church, they might have
'obtained; and deſerved through their
'quiet *converſation*. As a juſt protecti-
'on infers our due ſubjection: ſo no
'men pay more willingly then they;
'who beſides the Iron-rod of *fear* have
'ſofter cords of love and favour upon
'them. How can we with juſtice, ho-
'nour, or humanity inflict ſevere penal-
'ties upon Papiſts as refuſing to conform
'to our Church and Religion, when
'they proteſt with ſo much truth to our
'faces; they cannot ſee any Church,
'any Religion, among us as *uniform*,
'*publick*, *authentick*, *Conſtant*?

We might conſider that the enacting of

of laws penalties, and *impoſitions* againſt Papiſts, is but a *knotting* Whipcord to laſh our own *poſterity*: Seeing now there be ſo many Opinions in the World, God knows upon whoſe children it may fall next: For the Church of *England* is not a *Manna* that reliſheth in every mans palate. Secondly, To uſe ſeverity againſt Papiſts overturns the very ground of our *retreat* from *Rome*. It is againſt Proteſtant ſincerity; for how can they exclaim againſt them for perſecutors, and are now the men themſelves? Was it an inſtance of weakneſs in their Religion, and is it become a demonſtration in ours? Is it Antichriſtian in them and Chriſtian in us? For if men muſt be reſtrained upon prudential pretended *conſiderations*, for their Religious exerciſe; why not the ſame in *France*, *Germany*, *Holland*, *Conſtantinople*, *&c.* where matters of State may equally be pleaded? And if Proteſtants who maintain that no *Councils* or Church without tyranny may require *belief* or *internal conſent* from their ſubjects to their definitions or Articles of Religion (a practice much exclaimed againſt in the Church

Church of *Rome*) why then do they of the Church of *England* ſo inconſequently exact in *practice*, ſuch *conſent* blamed in the Roman.?

CAP.

CAP. VII.

That by our own Concessions true Salvation is acquired in the Roman Church, and therefore not to be persecuted.

THe most eminent Divines of the English Church, allow the Church of *Rome* to be a true Church: whence they acknowledge and derive their Orders, *Ordination*, Calling, *Mission*, *Jurisdiction*, Authority to Preach, *&c.* wherein they agree Salvation may be had and all *Fundamentals* of Faith are profest, *v. g.* Papists hold all *positive* Articles of Faith setled among Protestants, as *divine* and undoubted Truths. Protestants and Catholicks

tholicks both are Chriſtians, Both Baptized in that holy name, both lay hold on the promiſes of the *Goſpel*; have the Lords Prayer, Belief, the ſame three Creeds, *Apoſtolical*, *Nicene*, *Athanaſian*; The firſt four General Councils.

They believe with the Roman Church Articles of Doctrine, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son; *terms* of *Trinity*, *ſubſtantiality*, *virginity* of our Bleſſed Lady, Scripture, all Laws, *Canons*, *Ordinances*, forms of Liturgy, Prayer, Service, *Diſcipline*, *&c.* And though the Roman Church doth declare many doctrinal points as neceſſary to be believed (being deduced from holy Writ, and practice of the primitive times) whch the Reformiſts deny: Yet ſeeing they acknowledge all the neceſſary articles fundamentally required to Salvation; as is by their Adverſaries granted. What reaſon or juſtice is it to condem them to ſo great cruelties for matters of their Belief.

I could produce innumerable teſtimonies from the beſt Authors and Writings of the Engliſh Church; who teach the *Roman* notwithſtanding her ſuppoſed errors;

rors, to be the Church of Christ, and therein perfect Christianity, and hope of Salvation to be found. To avoid *prolixity* I will mention a few.

'Doctor *Morton* in his Treatise of 'King of *Israel and the Church*, p. 24, 'Papists, saith he, *are to be accounted* 'of the Church of God; *because they hold* 'the Foundation of the Gospel. Hooker '5. *Book of Eccles. Policy*, saith, *The* 'Church of Rome *is reputed a part of the* 'House of God, *and of the Family of Je-* 'sus Christ. Doctor *Couel* in defence of 'Hooker p. 17. saith, *We affirm them of* 'the Church of Rome *to be part of the* 'Church of Christ, *and those that live and* 'dye in that Church may be saved. Ma- 'ster *White* in defence *c.* 41. in the 'name of his Brethren saith, *We profess* 'the Church of Rome *it self, in all Ages* 'to have been the visible Church of God. 'Field *lib.* 3. *c.* 8. saith, *We most firmly,* 'believe all the Churches of the World, 'wherein our Fathers lived and died to 'have been the true Churches of God, in 'which *undoubted* Salvation was to be 'had. And after in the same Book, *We* 'never doubted but that in the Churches

'wherein

'wherein thoſe holy men St. *Bernard* and 'St. *Dominick* lived *were the true Chur-* 'ches *of God.* *Oſiander* witneſſeth *Bede* 'had all Popiſh errors, yet Dr. *Humphrey* 'in his Jeſuitiſm acknowledges him to be 'in the number of the godly: ſo doth *Fulk* 'of St. *Bernard*, *Luther*, the *Centuriſts*, 'Tindal and *Pantaleon* title St. *Francis* 'and St. *Dominick* holy men; though 'they bleieved all *Papiſtical* errors: there- 'fore Papiſts may be ſaved, if Proteſtants 'may be believed.

Dove perſuaſ. ſaith, *in fundamental points of Doctrine the greateſt Papiſts in the world agree with us.* *Prot. rel.* affir- meth the Roman Church hath ſtill *inviolably the foundation of Religion l.*48. *Down- nam l.* 2. *Antichr. granteth it was a note of a good Chriſtian* to cleave to the Ro- miſh and Apoſtolical Church, and p. 103. *l. Antichr.* he yieldeth to *Bellarmine*, that S. *Auguſtine* and *Victor Oticenſis* were of opinion, to *adhere* to the Church of *Rome* was a mark of a true *Catholick* in thoſe times.

Our Stars of the firſt magnitude, as *Luther* in *Epiſt. againſt Anabap.* ſaith, *we confeſs that all Chriſtian good is in the*

Papacy, and *from them it came down to us*; and *ibid.* I say in the *Papacy* is *the true Christianity*, yea the true *Kernel* of *Christianity*: and on the 28 of *Genes.* *we confess* the Church to be among the Papists: for they have Baptism, Absolution, the Text of the Gospel, *&c.* and there are many godly men among them. *Calvin Instit. l.* 4. confesseth in the Roman Church in the *deepest of her supposed errors*, *there ever remained inviolabile fœdus Dei*: the Covenant of God *inviolable.*

Doth not *Bunny*, *Whitaker*, *Junius*, *Zanrchius*, *Seravia* and almost all Protestants generally hold as much, at least, that we agree in fundamentals, that the *Roman* Church is a true Church, the MotherC-hurch.

A thousand of learned Reformists confess in general, *Antiquity* and the Fathers are for the *Roman* Church. Whence a learned Writer noteth in some things or other; yea in every particular Controversy Protestants grant their Assertions, and there is no assertion by the Papists defended, but some of the reformed yield too and confess; as of great reason and authority. *Magde-*

Magdeburgenſes 4. Cent. dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, *& ad Jacobum Regem*; that the firſt & pureſt times of the Church, taught *Sacramental Confeſſion*, *Tradition*, *Invocation* of *Saints*, *Purgatory*, *Maſs*, *a propitiatory Sacrifice*, *Miracles obtained at the reliques of Saints*, *Images in Churches* for the *firſt* 200 and 300 *years*. Concerning the Primacy that one muſt be Cheif in the Church is taught by *Melanction*, *Luther*, *in loc. com. Couelin examen. Jacobus Andreas* related by *Hoſpinian*.

Mr. *Perkins Prob.* p. 237. ſaith, Appeals were often made out of *Africa* to Popes of *Rome* in primitive days. *Middleton* Papiſt p. 39. that the firſt general Council of *Nice*, taught the Dignity of *Rome* over the Weſt Provinces, and hold, p. 200. *Papias*, living in the time of the Apoſtles taught *Peters Supremacy*. *Field. lib. Church* ſaith, the Title of *Conſtantinople* was but intruded and uſurped, and when the *Council of Nice* gave ſuch honour to the Church of *Rome*; there was not ſo much as *mention* made of *Conſtantinople*. Doctor *Sutcliffe ſubver.* p. 51. is witneſs *Irenæus* ſaith, that every Church ought to have reſpect to the Church of *Rome* for

her *eminent principality*: and *Subverſ.* 19. telleth, how Saint *Gregory* commanded in *England*, inſtituting Saint *Auguſtine Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* a See of that *preeminency*. *Downam lib. Antich. c.* 3. doth not deny but that *Juſtinian* the Emperor and the general Council of *Chalcedon* did attribute to the Pope of *Rome* to be *head* of the Church.

For the *real* preſence *Jacobus Accontius*, a learned Proteſtant, ſaith, though one part err, yet both are in the way of *Salvation*. *Whitaker*, *Bucer* and *Hooker* ſay the Body is really given to the Mouth of the faithful. So Doctor *Reynolds* in his Conference 722. *Prayer* for the dead and *free will*, *Cartwright*, *Fulke* and *Sparke* ſay are not ſo neceſſary. Worſhip of *Images* is indifferent, ſaith Maſter *Bunny* and *Bilney*, and is defended by Proteſtants in *Germany*, as *Beza* relates. *Bowing* at the Name of *Jeſus* is affirmed and commanded by Queen *Elizabeths* Injunctions. By Doctor *Whitgift* in defence; *Muſculus in loc. com. Zanchius in Epiſt. ad Epheſ. &c.* But if bowing at the Name of Jeſus being *read* or *heard* be lawful; it followeth, the honouing

ing of Chriſts Image is alſo lawful: ſince the Name of Jeſus is to the *Ear*, as his Image is to the Eye. *Communion* in one kind, *Luther in Epiſt. ad Bohem.* ſaith, is of indifferency.

That the preſent Roman Church and Religon continued and flouriſhed during the whole time of the *primitive* Church in the firſt ſix hundred years after Chriſt: from Chriſt and his Apoſtles to *Conſtantine* the great, and from *Conſtantine* to *Gregory* the great. *Calvin*, *Zuinglius*, *Zanchius*, *Danæus*, *Beza*, *Brocord*, *Napper*, *Perkins*, *Whitaker*, *Powel*, *Fulke*, *Reynolds*, *Cartwright*, *Field*, *Willet*, *Whiteguift*, *Midleton*, *Morton*, the moſt renowned Proteſtant Writers acknowledg in their Words and Books; as I could eaſily ſhew, and cite their words and places to that purpoſe, if it were not for brevitys ſake: you may find it at large in a *Treatiſe* dedicated to Dr. *Morton* of the *Progeny* of Catholicks and Proteſtants. And the continuance of the Roman Religion, thoſe laſt 1000 years, is acknowledged by *Oſiander*, *Danæus*, *Magdeburgenſes*, *Holinſhed*, *Stow*, *Cambden*, *Fox*, *Bale*, *Bilſon*, *Whitaker*, *Maſon*, *Cartwright*, *Godwine*,

Martin, *&c.* it being evident to all that do not ſtupidly deny whatever was ſaid or done in former ages.

To conclude, I propoſe this *Dilemma*, either with extream impiety you damn the Souls of the whole race of your *Progenitors*, who, till the later end of *Henry* the Eighth, lived and died Roman Catholicks: or elſe, with no leſs *cruelty*, you puniſh them for profeſſing the Religion of your forefathers; in which, by your own Conceſſions, Salvation may be attained. Whence a learned Proteſtant ſaith,

'The wrong which Proteſtants commit 'in afflicting Catholicks, and unnaturally 'trampling upon their dejected Eſtates, only 'for matters of Religion.--- Alas! by our 'own Doctrine, they are neither *Babylo-* 'nians nor *Egyptians*, but they and we '(as we teach) being *Iſraelites*. Why then 'ſhould *Iſrael* thus perſecute *Iſrael?* are 'we not become a gaze of Chriſtendom, 'thus to fight without an Enemy, for 'kindred to wound his own kindred? '-- inciting our Governours to great ſeve- 'rity in Religion; in which we our ſelves 'teach they may be ſaved. I ſpeak ſincerely

I hold

'I hold morally, its moſt improbable that 'ſuch as have been converſant in Study 'of Controverſies, muſt have a reſpect to 'Catholick Religion, unleſs they break 'with all Authority, *humane* and *di-* 'vine.

Biſhop *Gauden*, in *the Sighes of the Church* p. 202. ſaith, 'The *Dilemma* 'and diſtreſſed choice of Religion is now 'reduced to this: that peaceable and 'well-minded Chriſtians, *wiſe*, *&c.*---ſo 'long haraſſed and wearied with *novel* 'Factions and *pretended Reformations*, 'would rather chuſe their poſterity 'ſhould return to the Roman Party, 'which hath ſomething among them *ſetled*, '*orderly*, & *uniform*, becoming Religion, 'than to have them ever *turning* and '*towring* upon *Ixins Wheel*; catching 'in vain, at *fanciful* reformations, as *Tan-* 'talus at the deceitful waters: rowling 'the reformed Religion like *Syſiphus* his 'Stone; (ſometimes aſſerting it by Law 'and power; otherwiſe expoſing it to 'popular liberty and looſneſs) then to 'have them toſſed to and fro with every 'wind of Doctrine, with the *fœdities*, blaſphemies, animoſities, *Anarchies*, dan-

'ger and confusions, attending *fanatick*
'*fancies*, and *quotidian Reformations*;
'which like Botches and Boyls from sur-
'feited and unwholsom bodies, so daily
'break out among those Christians, who
'have made no rule of Religion, but
'their own humour; and no bounds of
'reformation, but their own interests.
'The first makes them ridiculous, the se-
'cond *pernitious* to all sober Christians.
'whereas the Roman Church (however
'*tainted* with errors) yet it cannot be
'denied without a *brutish* blindness and
'*injurious* slander, (which only serves to
'gratifie the gross *Antipathies* of the ga-
'ping vulgar) that the Church of *Rome*,
'amongst its tares and cockles, hath ma-
'ny wholesom hearbs, and holy Plants
'growing: much more of *Reason* and Re-
'ligion, of good *Learning* and sober In-
'dustry, Order and *Polity*, of *Morality*
'and *Constancy*, of Christian *Candour* and
'*Civility*, of common Honesty and *Huma-*
'*nity*; becoming grave men and *Christi-*
'*ans*; by which to invite after-ages, and
'your posterity to adhere to it and them,
'rather than to be everlastingly exposed
'to the profane *bablings*, endless *janglings*,

miserable

‘miſerable wranglings, *childiſh conſuſions*,
‘*atheiſtical indifferencies*, and *ſacrilegious*
‘*furies* of ſome later ſpirits; which are
‘equally greedy and giddy, making both
‘a play and a prey of Religion; who
‘have nothing comparable in them to the
‘*papal* party, to deſerve yours or your
‘poſterities *admiration* or *imitation*, but
‘rather their greateſt caution and *pre-*
‘*vention*.

Cap. VIII.

CAP. VIII.

Roman Catholicks are not guilty of Practices or Principles destructive to Government.

PRotestants have set it down as a *Decree* against Catholicks and labour to imprint it, as an *eternal scandal* in the hearts of the People: that Catholick Doctrine and Religion, is dangerous to the State and Soveraignty: and therefore not allowable. This being a matter of great importance; I will endeavour, not so much to justifie them, as to inform my self, in a point which hath made so many stagger: Being one that desires to defend the loyalty of *innocent* men, rather

rather than their Opinions or Doctrins; which they are beſt able to defend themſelves.

In this grand charge and Hyperbolical *accuſation*, I find the contrary is proved by evidence of Fact: that the Treaſons, *Seditions*, *factions*, tumults which have filled all Chriſtendome with blood and calamity; ſprung not from the *doctrine* of Catholicks, but from the Opinions and practices of Reformiſts; not from *Rome* but from *Wittenberg*, *Smalcald*, *Geneva*, *&c.*

Was it the Papiſts that induced them of *Geneva* to expel their Lord and Biſhop? That moved them of *Swedeland* to deprive their lawful King? That procured *Holland* to depoſe their Soveraign? That ſollicited Subjects to depoſe their Emperour? King of *Bohemia* and *Poland?* That impriſoned *Mary* Queen of Scots? That authorized *Mountebank* and *Rochel* to ſtand in *deſiance* againſt their King? That begot ſo many *conſpiracies* againſt *Queen Mary* of *England* as appears in our Chronicles? That raviſhed from their lawful Governours the Low Countries and *Tranſylvania*

vania and many Towns now called free? Was it from any of their Books, you have drawn these vile *Maximes*, *viz.* that the authority of the Soveraign Magistrate is of *humane* right? That the People are above the King? That the People can give Power to the Prince and take it away? That Kings are not *anointed* of the Lord? That if a King fail in performing his *Oath* at Coronation, the Subjects are absolved from their *allegiance*? That if Princes fall from the grace of God, the people are looſed from their ſubjection? Do not these *doctrines* proceed from *Wickliffe*, *Waldenſes* and other *Sectaries*? Doth not *Belforreſt* ſufficiently prove the like *maximes* from *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Melanction*, *Peter Martir*, *&c.*? What *Buchanan* and *Knox* did againſt Queen *Mary* their lawful Soveraign is evident in Hiſtory, and *Beza in Epiſt.* 78. *ad Buchanan* approves their actions. *Calvin l.* 4. *c.* 3. *Inſtit.* from his high Conſiſtorian gives this abſolution to all Oaths of that nature. *Quibuſcunq; hujus evangelii lux effulgeat & ab omnibus laqueis juramentiſq; abſolvitur.* And the famous Miniſter *Surean* called

called *Roſiers* writ a Book expreſly, that it was lawful to kill *Charls* the ninth, and the Queen Mother if they would not obey the Goſpel. *Belforreſt* is ſufficient witneſs. See more in *Althuſius Politicks c.35. Dauſus l. 6. Polit.c.3.* In all the Councils, Synods, writings of any Roman Divines, no ſuch matters are found and allowed; but only ſuch as teach Subjects *loyalty*, *humility*, *obedience*.

More Princes have been depoſed by Sectaries in ſixty years, than by Papiſts in ſix hundred years: and that depoſing of Kings is no doctrine nor practice of Catholicks ſhall be proved hereafter: and that others have been more faulty in each of their reſpective Sects in all kind of diſorders at home or abroad, Hiſtory and experience teſtifie. In no Country or City in Chriſtendome but Catholick Religion ever entred by *meekneſs* and *ſuffering*: in no Country of Chriſtendome but other Sects entred by *ſedition*, *rebellion*, *diſobedience*: or murdering of great Princes or Perſons; by vaſt deſtruction of Cities, Countries, Kingdomes. As in *France*, *Holland*, ſeveral States in *Germany*,

many, *Scotland*, twenty years in *England*, *&c.* Consider what was done against *France*, *Holland*, several States in *Germany* *Mary* Queen of Scots; or the late unparallel'd Rebellion.

In Catholick Religion I find they learn their *duty* towards God cannot be complied with, without an exact performance of their duty towards their Soveraign: to obey him not for *advantages*, or temporal concerns; but out of *Conscience*. For no Roman Catholick can be true to his *Religion*, who is not true to his Prince. Whom they obey for Conscience sake; whose Person they love and honour; and whose prosperity they always pray for; Though stript of their Estates or loaden with stripes. It is in the power of great ones to make them suffer; but not to make them guilty. Their Religion tells them that *Cæsar's* due ought not to be kept from him be he of what religion he pleaseth.

This is the will of God in Scripture, preached by the *Apostles* and from them derived to us: this doctrine is *instilled* in their *Catechisms*; confirmed by their Sermons and *conferences*: Insomuch that

that a Papiſt that is not truly *loyal*, is not truly a Papiſt, if to believe not, what they are taught by the Church, makes a man *ceaſe* to be of it.

From the Saxons to *Edward* the ſixth, to be a Catholick was never taken as a bar to *loyalty*. Nor doth it ſeem poſſible a Religion which governed *England* with glory ſo many hundred years; can teach a doctrine deſtructive to Princes; or infuſe *Maximes* that will breed *Commotion in the People.*

They are ready by Oath in the face of Heaven to profeſs loyalty a *divine* command, and an *indiſpenſable* duty: and any who pretend to know what Catholick doctrine is; muſt know this to be a part of it. In matters of *fact* their *actions* have given *indubitable* teſtimonies even by their Enemies own *Conceſſions.* If Catholicks had been diſloyal, either the King or his Council; or at leaſt the State-men under *Cromwel* or the *Rump* muſt know it. They *appeal* to the Council in all *diſcoveries* of their Treacheries againſt the King whether ever any conſtant Catholick was acceſſary or concurred in any deſign againſt his Majeſty.

jesty. They *appeal* and challenge all the black Catalogue of *Cromwells favorites* and the whole Rumpists, to discover, if they can, any *Papist* who concurred in any plot or *action*.

If Catholicks refuse to go to Protestant Churches in *respect* of *Conscience*, They will far more refuse for Conscience sake to commit *Treason*; a sin of a higher degree; will hardly attempt or consent to any desperate act against their State and Country: and commit such Crimes as hazard Body and Soul. Nay what other Sectaries will boggle at, If the King should be a *Heathen* and make Laws against them; they hold it not lawful to resist, but *peaceably* to endure.

During the time of the late King of *France*, there was proposed by an *Assembly* of Catholick *Divines* and *Bishops*, this question or *Probleme*: If it were supposed the King of *France* became a *Mahometan*, and by his Power endeavoured to force his Subjects to that *infidelity*: whether they might lawfully according to the Principles of Christianity by arms resist him? to which question

ſtion the unanimous conſent of the Aſſembly was, that ſuch a *reſiſtance* would be unlawful: ſince Chriſtian Religion allowed no other way of maintaining *Faith* againſt lawful Soveraigns, but *prayers, tears* and *ſufferings.*

When ſhall we find ſuch a *reſult* from a Synod of Presbyterians? Compare theſe primtive Doctrines, with new the *Evangeliſts*; and we ſhall find them quite contrary to the rules of *Wieliffians, Waldenſes, Paræus, Knox* and *Buchanan*, &c. who teach that Subjects may not only defend by Arms their Religion; but *offend* alſo. And lately *Baxter* in *lib.* of *Reſt. p.* 258. ſaith we may fight againſt Kings if it were for cauſe of Religion; to purge the Church from Idolatry and Superſtition. The *Geneva* Notes of the Bible, 2 *Chron. c.* 5. allow the depoſing of Queen *Macha.* See more in *Belforreſt.*

On the contrary the Doctors and Caſuiſts of the Roman Church hold it as an Article of Faith; that neither *Hereſie* nor *Turciſm* can be oppoſed by Rebellion. *Belloy* in *Apol. part.* 2. plainly ſaith, Arms againſt Princes have no

warrant. *Orationibus tantum pugnandum. Navar*, *Cunerus* and all other Catholick Doctors agree in the same; as most conformable to the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Fathers. The General Council of *Constance*, *Sess.* 5. concludes it an error in Faith to maintain Subjects may kill their Kings being Tyants, *nuper accepit Synodus*, *&c.*

Cardinal *Tolet* in his *Summolies l.* 3. *c.* 6. affirms it not lawful to attempt the life of a Prince: although he never so much abuse his Power. And that it is flat Heresie to maintain the contrary. So *Greg. de Valent. part.* 2. *Bellar. l.* 3. of his Apology. Learned *Lessius lib. de Scientia & jure*, *Serarius in cap.* 3. *Azor.* in his Instit. *Becanus* in his answer to the 9. Aphor. *Gretzer.* in his *Vespertilio Heretico* confutes all *Mariana's* grounds. Saint *Thomas* tells expresly *Tyrannus non potest a quopiam privatâ Authoritate occidi.* The Canon Law and Decrees, *Decret.* 2. *part.* 10. *de Episcopis ac clericis quod nec sua authoritate, nec authoritate summi Pontificis arma valeant accipere, &c.* And the

the Canon Law of *England* explains it more fully in the Council held at *Oxford* by *Stephen* of *Canterbury* 1228. and *anno Hen.* 3. where Excommunication is decreed againſt thoſe who perturb the peace and tranquillity of our Lord the King and Kingdome. *Bellarmine* himſelf maintains the Laws of Magiſtrates bind even the Conſciences of Chriſtians, *Lib. de Laicis.* So the *Rhemenſes* in this *Annotat.* in 1 *Pet. c.* 2. Condemn *treaſon* and *diſobedience*, and ſay, Subjects are bound in temporal things to obey the Heathens being lawful Kings; and even for Conſcience ſake to keep their temporal Laws, pay tribute, pray for them, and other natural duties. And Doctor *Kelliſon* in his Learned Survey gives a good reaſon for it; becauſe, ſaith he, Faith is not neceſſarily required to juriſdiction; nor is authority loſt by the loſs of Faith.

The Biſhop of *Armagh* confeſſeth the Engliſh Papiſts in *Ireland* were faithful in all the Invaſion of *Spain* or Pope *Sand. K. C. p.* 88. *Calvin* himſelf their greateſt enemy on the firſt of *Hoſea* and

ninth of *Amos*, ſaith, *quam multi ſunt in Papatu qui regibus accumulant quicquid poſſint juris & poteſtatis.* ‘Whence ‘King *James* in his *Baſilicon doron Epiſt.* ‘to the Reader, ſaith, Puritans had ‘put out many Libels againſt all Chri‘ſtian Princes; and that no body an‘ſwered them, *but the Papiſts:* that they ‘were their only Vindicators. And the late King himſelf in his excellent Book of Meditations, ſaith, ‘I am ſorry *Pa‘piſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their ‘allegiance* than *many Proteſtants.*

The Loyalty and Obedience of Catholicks towards Princes appears undeniable in all things; by their conſtant and *general conformity* unto temporal Government. Have ſhewed all the duty that men can fancy to own. Where ſhall we find better Subjects? How much they are faulty, and how much others have been: let the world judg. They may lay to our charge, ten *Seditious* Authors for one: and that more Villanies have been perpetrated ſince the Reformation than in nine hundred years before.

‘I muſt provoke both Angels and ‘men

'men (ſaith a Divine of the Engliſh 'Church) to conſider their wrong. How 'we load them with Crimes of which they 'are innocent. I might wonder how 'ſo wild calumnies could be laid to their 'charge. When their conſtant Doctrine 'teacheth, and their own perſons have 'ſhewed all duty imaginable. Experi-'ence hath proved their great integrity, 'that no advantages offered can betray 'their fidelity to their King or Country. '---what wrong have done? what peace 'have they broken? what plots have 'they fomented to the prejudice of the 'preſent Government? or occaſions given 'to hatch new *jealouſies*? treaſon is now 'left out of their charge. What diſco-'veries were made againſt them, either 'in the *Rump* or *Olivers* time when the 'Preſs was free? were they not ſtill 'owned as the moſt loyal and conſtant 'Royaliſts? and none of them could 'ever be ſuſpected for the leaſt *defection* 'from our Soveraign. And yet theſe 'are the men that are traduced, as in-'conſiſtent with civil polity and regality. 'Yet none more inoffenſive then they. 'Judg then whether it be not a ſuperla-

'tive injuſtice to incenſe the world a-'gainſt them. As if they delighted in 'blood, and perſecuting of men were a 'part of their doctrine.

Now becauſe the contrary opinion hath poſſeſſed the imaginations of ſo many, by a ſelf-deceiving wilfulneſs, predominant paſſion or partiality. I ſhall *clear* and lay open the truth of this aſſertion in the ſequent Chapter: So plainly and Orthodoxally; that none but who can lay aſide all reaſon, charity, honeſty and morality, may contradict and oppoſe.

CAP.

CAP. IX.

Principles and Doctrines of Roman Catholicks are conſiſtent with Peace and Government, wherein a different Religion is eſtabliſhed by Law.

Et *Politicians* ſay what they will, there is no greater ſupport to *Monarchy* than Catholick Religion: whence one of our own Doctors ſaith, 'The Fanaticks 'did conjecture, and were *tenacious* of 'opinion, that the late Acts put out a-'againſt Papiſts and Prieſts, were but to 'bring others more eaſily into the ſnare. 'So good and deſerving opinion, they 'know Papiſts merited from thoſe times,

'that no ſecurity need to tye them 'deeper.

How all the Catholicks of *England* have comported themſelves, at leaſt, theſe ſixty years laſt paſt, needs no further vindication; thoſe that have been witneſſes of their actions can teſtifie. I ſhall only intimate, that I have heard them profeſs, that if at any time they have expoſed their lives and fortunes, in defence of their Soveraign and Countrey; they did but do that duty which they ſhall be ready to do again, notwithſtanding any diſincouragement can be put upon them.

Now in this Chapter I adventure to fight againſt a popular *prejudice*, and the *obſtinacy* of long verted opinions: conſidering the number of my Adverſaries, who ſo loudly and reſolutely charge them with deſtructive *Doctrines* and *Principles* to the publick good and *ſafety*, that they ſeem to make it an Article of their Creed: objecting Poſitions of ſome private and diſavowed perſons and words only (when others rebelled indeed, and their Battels were real:) but every mans work will bear a better teſtimony of him than other mens words do againſt him.

I

I know great difficulties may be overcome by truth and time. And vulgar and very general errors have oft been eaſily detected by *prudent* and *unbiaſed* men. Whence to overthrow from the very foundation all ſuch aſperſions; let all impartial men conſider, firſt, theſe calumnies proceed originally from enemies. Secondly, they are untruths forged againſt them, and taken upon truſt, what their *Antagoniſts* teach you. For it hath been a courſe often practiſed againſt them, by many of their opponents:

Firſt to frame Articles of their belief according to their own fancy, or out of private and unapproved Authors; as if they were the true and real Articles of their *Faith*. Who being oft preſſed to juſtifie the accuſations could never do it: or durſt not ſhew their faces in a free or publick conference, about the points in queſtion.

This way of proceeding is againſt all Law and Equity, to condemn them before you *hear* them. No Judg ſends men to be hanged before they ſpeak for themſelves, and *Sentence* given.

Secondly, According to the rule of reaſon;

reaſon; they themſelves ſhould make the Confeſſion and Profeſſion of their own Faith, and that of others, eſpecially their adverſaries ſhould not take it upon them: For any indifferent Judg would wonder you ſhould have better *intelligence* of their Religion than they themſelves.

Thirdly, All examples and practices of the Primitive Churches mentioned in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories*, the cuſtom was, when any Diſpute did ariſe, concerning the integrity of the Doctrine profeſſed in any particular Church, that Church ſo queſtion'd did always ſet down in writing a Confeſſion of their Faith; and tranſmit it either to the Patriarch or ſome general Council: that ſo the ſincerity of their belief might be tried by the *touchſtone* of the Church univerſal.

Fourthly, Faith being an *internal conſent* of our will, and ſubjection of our underſtanding to truths *revealed*, in abſolute juſtice none but we our ſelves can make an *authentical* manifeſtation of what paſſeth in our ſouls of that nature. And beſides it being the duty of every Chriſtian

Chriſtian, not only to make open *profeſſion* of his Faith when occaſion requires it, but alſo to make ſuch a profeſſion with all poſſible ſincerity and truth: (for to uſe any falſity or *diſſimulation* in a caſe of this *concern*, were not only to deceive men, but even to belye the holy Ghoſt.) It will neceſſarily follow, firſt, no judgment can be made of anothers faith, but by the *confeſſion* of the party himſelf: and ſecondly, that a greater *aſſurance* cannot be given between man and man of *veracity* and ſecret dealing, than when we publickly declare our faith upon any point of Controverſie.

Upon theſe grounds and theſe circumſtances, I preſume, their Antagoniſts will be ſo reaſonable as not to queſtion the truth and reality of their meaning in what they declare concerning their *Tenets* in the points of Allegiance or Doctrine. Here I will ſet them down, ſubmitting to the honour and conſcience of all ſober men, and to any indifferent Judges (who will not retain the animoſity and prejudice of parties) to give *ſentence*, whether they are not conſiſtent with loyalty and the duty of good *Subjects* and *Chriſtians*. *v. g.* They

They hold *CHARLES* the II. is their true and lawful Soveraign. Secondly, that no Power on earth ſhall abſolve them from their natural Allegeance. Are ready by Oath in the face of Heaven to profeſs their loyalty indiſpenſable, from which no power can free them. Thirdly, that they are bound with their lives and fortunes to defend the ſacred Perſon of his Majeſty in his juſt Rights againſt all oppoſers whatſoever, *domeſtick* or *forraign*. Fourthly, that Faith is to be kept with all men indifferently and equally, whether they be Roman Catholicks, or of any other Religion. And that our engagements, promiſes and contracts cannot lawfully be broken, or diſpenſed with by any power on earth to the prejudice of any third Perſon.

They believe the *holy Scriptures* to be of infallible authority, and aſſent to it, as the word of God. They believe the ſacred myſtery of the bleſſed *Trinity*; one eternal, almighty and incomprehenſible God, whom only they adore and worſhip, as alone having ſoveraign dominion over all things: to whom only is due from Men and Angels, all *glory*, *ſervice*

ſervice and *obedience*: abhorring to give their *CREATORS* honour to any creature whatſoever.

Whence they ſolemnly profeſs, that by the Prayers they addreſs to *Angels* and *Saints*, they intend no more, but to ſollicite their *aſſiſtance* before the throne of God; as we deſire the Prayers of one another here upon earth; not that they hope any thing from them as *original* authors thereof; but from God through *Jeſus Chriſt* our only *Mediator* and *Redeemer*.

Neither do they believe any *Divinity* or Virtue to be in Images, for which they ought to be worſhipped, as the Gentiles did their Idols. But they retain them with due and decent reſpect in their Churches; as *inſtruments* which we find by experience do often aſſiſt our memories and excite our affections. Pictures may be of good uſe (ſaith our learned *Bacon*) if the *repreſentation* of *divine* ſtories, as well work upon them to contemplate thoſe things, as laſcivious Pictures do *Obſcenity*. Charity obligeth us no other conſtruction of the words of men than what they profeſs to be their own ſenſe: but

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I never heard or read Images absolutely to be worshipped, or Saints absolutely prayed to.

They firmly believe that no force of nature or dignity of our best works can merit our *justification*; but we are justified *freely* by *grace* through the redemption that is in *Jesus Christ*: and though we should, by the Grace of God, persevere in a godly life: yet are our hopes of eternal Glory built upon the mercy of God and the merits of Christ Jesus.

All other *merits* (according to the sense of that word) signifie no more, than actions done by the *assistance* of Gods *Grace*; to which it has pleas'd his *Goodness* to promise a reward. A Doctrine so suitable to the sense of holy Scripture, that nothing is so frequently repeated in it, as his *gratious* promises to *recompence* with everlasting Glory the Faith and Obedience of his Servants. 1 *Tim.* 4. 8. *Rom.* 2. 6, 8, 13, *Heb.* 6. 10. *Luke* 16. 38. thus we believe the merit or *rewardableness* of holy living, (both which signifie the same with us) arises not from the value even of our *best actions*: but from the grace and

and bounty of God. And for our ſelves we ſincerely profeſs, when we have done all we are are able, or commanded, we are unprofitable ſervants. *Luke* 17. 10.

Theſe they ſincerely and ſolemnly profeſs, as in the ſight of God, the *ſearcher* of all hearts, taking the words plainly, without any *equivocation* or mental *reſervation.* And now let them that judg ſo *ſeverely*, lay their hands on their hearts, and with the ſame *juſtice* and *equity* with which they expect to be judged themſelves at the laſt day: Let them pronounce whether or no their *Doctrine* or *Principles* are inconſiſtent with the duty of good Chriſtans, or Subjects, and the peaee and ſafety of Government.

In Law and Reaſon every man, *à fortiori*, a ſociety of men ought to be eſteemed honeſt and juſt, till the contrary appear to be proved: but nothing hath hitherto appeared to be proved againſt the loyalty of Catholicks: therefore in reaſon and juſtice they ought to be eſteemeed good Subjects and Neighbours: and it is a meer Calumny to aſperſe them.

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That nothing can be proved is evident, their accusers being often pressed thereunto, were never able to produce any *particular*; or any proof *sufficient* to satisfie any rational man: But dwelling in vain, general suspicions, triflings and false *presumptions*; laying to their charge extravagant crimes, that have not the least proof or probability: objecting positions of some private and disavowed persons; the crimes and indiscretions of particular men to all the party, to traduce and defame the whole, we aggravate the failings of a few.

The world knows it were no difficulty to *recriminate* in this kind, and repay them with the same dirt. If such accusations pass current, who would or could be innocent? No people on the earth can be safe at this rate. Would not this Logick make the Church of *England* guilty of *Fanatick* Principles; because, *Taylor*, one of their renowned Doctors and Bishops writes for liberty of Prophecying? And of Murder and Theft, &c. because some of them are condemned every Sessions?

Whence

Whence an *Engliſh Divine ingenuouſly* ſpeaketh; 'We caſt an aſperſion on a 'ſort of people, whoſe tried loyalty in 'all viciſſitudes of dangerous troubles, 'as it ſhould have altered your judgments 'ſo their grievous ſufferings for loyalty) 'ſhould from the Charity of our Profeſ- 'ſion, have found rather pity for their '*afflictions* than aſperſion on their *inno-* 'cence. ---- So good deſerving an opi- 'nion they know Papiſts deſerve from 'theſe times that no *ſecurity* needs to tye 'them *deeper*. --- Nor can there be any ap- 'prehenſion of the leaſt danger from them 'to his Majeſties Perſon or State; for in 'point of *fidelity* they have given unque- 'ſtionable proofs by their actions; as their 'enemies witneſs.

Needham, in his Book *Intereſt will not lye*, ſaith, 'Papiſts adhered generally 'to the King. *Oliver*, preſſed by *Cardi- nal Mazarine* for liberty to Papiſts, ſaid, they were his greateſt enemies, *lib. Of Treaty* at St. *John de Luze*. They can ſay two things no profeſſion elſe can: *viz.* that no perſon of Honour or Eſtate a- mong them was ever againſt the King: and on the contrary, hardly any one ſo

qualified but did assist him. Who can therefore look on those men, as to have any honesty, wisdom or charity, who are ever grudging and repining at the least favour indulged to a faithful, loyal and *sociable* people? and can never rest satisfied with their own unlimited *immunities*; unless they see others contemned, afflicted and abused? When by all the *Apostolick* Rules of Christianity, we should help and *compassionate*: and not make it our business to supplant one another.

Before I answer the vulgar objections, and undeserved *clamours* so *confidently* (though without any *legal examination* and process, according to justice and judgment) laid upon them, and so frequently, though *disingennously*; urged against them. I will shew more largely what they teach concerning loyalty and fidelity to their King and Country.

1. It is an undoubted verity, generally taught in all their *Councils*, *Canons*, *Synods*, Divines, *Civilians*, *&c.* that our duty to God cannot be complied with, without an exact performance of our duty towards our Soveraign: to obey him not

not for advantage, private intereſt or temporal *concerns*, but of Conſcience: Nay what other Sectaries have bogled at; if the King ſhould be a Heathen, and make Laws contrary to the Goſpel, we ought not to reſiſt, but patiently endure.

No Roman Catholick can be true to his *Religion*, who is not true to his Prince and Country. Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* did vehemently preſs obedience to the Emperours in *Nero* and *Claudius* times, who were *Idolaters*. No *Divinity* can be warranted from Scripture againſt evil *Princes*, but *Prayers* and *Tears*. Whatſoever they command, which is not contrary to the great *Charter* of the word of God, I am bound in Conſcience to obey. If they command any thing *repugnant evidently* to Gods *revealed Will*; I muſt obey them ſtill; though not *actively* in doing what they command, yet *paſſively* in ſubmitting to thoſe penalties they ſhall inflict. He that proclaimed the Prerogative of Kings, *vos eſtis Dii*, taught the World, People are to obey. *Xephlon in vita Mar. Anton.* tells us, *Solus Deus eſt Judex Principum*,

God alone is the Judg of Kings.

I know no ſin againſt the ſecond Table, ſet forth in more *bloody* colours by Catholick Authors, than this of diſobedience to Governours: they ſaying it is compounded of *Homicide*, *Parricide* *Chriſticide* and *Deicide*. They compare it to Witchcraft where the partie intends and *covenants* with the Devil himſelf.

God commanded the *Amalekite*, who had a hand in *Sauls* death, to be ſlain before his eyes. *Sheba* blowing a Trumpet againſt *David*, is ſtiled a Son of *Belial*. What made *Jeroboam* ſo infamous in Scripture, but becauſe he lifted up his hand againſt the King. 1 *King.* 11. 26. an irreverent or wry word againſt the King is in Scripture called *Blaſphemy*, *Proverb.* 27. *thou ſhalt not blaſpheme the Gods.* And *Naboth* was *accuſed in that he did blaſpheme* God and the King. *Curſe not the King, no not in thy thoughts; for a bird in the air ſhall carry the voice: is it fit to ſay to the King, thou art wicked*, and to Princes, *ye are ungodly? Job.* 34. 18.

It hath been obſerved God hath *ſignally* puniſhed thoſe wrongs have been done

done to his *Vicegerents*. What an unluckie time was it, and accompanied with a deluge of miſeries when Kings were taken away from *Rome* and *Conſuls* ſet up? We read in our *Annals* after *Richard* the Second was depoſed followed a War, wherein a hundred thouſand were ſlain, beſides what of late in our memorie.

What more hurtful and hateful Creature than the Locuſts? Yet they are obſerved only to have no King: if we obey not the *King*, who is a viſible God: how ſhall we obey God, who is an inviſible *King?* Since the lines of our peace and happineſs do meet and center in him, as in our common Father. Who can think that any natives of a Land profeſſing themſelves followers of *Chriſt* (who in the days of his humiliation was obedient to *Cæſar*, that he wrought a miracle to give him his due) and expecting a protection from a lawful Prince, ſhould once demur to ſwear and yield Obedience?

Mens ears are open, ſaith a learned Divine, to receive any *tragical* complaints concerning their Governours. *Sheba's* Trumpet is pleaſant Muſick to that great

Beast, the common people: they hearken with both ears to *Detractions* and *Calumnies* against Governours; that they are *tyrannical* Bishops, are *Antichristian*, *Popery* is coming in apace; the Gospel is *adulterated*, Justice obstructed, *Profaneness* countenanced. What *Hurricanes* will these men raise? I even tremble any should profane the Pulpit, poison the Air, or (which is worse) the very hearts of men with such *seditious* and *deviliſh Doctrines*.

Who can chuse but renounce that way of Discipline, which startles at renouncing War with the King?

For my part, as *Lactantius* said to *Constantine*, the same say I of our Soveraigns *Restauration*. *Ille dies fœliciſſimus illuxit, &c.* Whose Person (if we be not worse than Heathens) we ought to love and honour, and whose *prosperity* we ought to pray for. His *unquestionable* Title and most noble and high *Descent* and Birthright cannot but strike a *reverential* aw upon us: for it may lineally and successively be derived from the *British*, *Scottish*, *Danish*, *Saxon* and *Norman* Princes above two thousand years, which is more antient and truly noble

noble than any Prince in the World can ſhew. A Prince, whoſe great Judgment, Gentility, Educarion, candid Nature, Meekneſs, Generoſity, Benignity and *juſtneſs* in Dealing all the world cannot but know and may imitate: And his very enemies (if he can contract any) muſt (if not *injudicioufly paſſionate*, or deſerve in ſome meaſure to be ranged in the Categories of fools and mad men) acknowledg. But we our ſelves, his Subjects, are more *pathetically* ſenſible of the effects, in his gentle protection to us of the Laws, Lives and Liberties: Every one quietly living under and poſſeſſing his own *Vine*, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of being harraſſed or diſturbed: as they were in the late times of *Anarchie* and *Democracy*. And moſt Nations daily feel more heavy Yokes, and exactions under their (though moderate) Governours. In this where there is ſo much truth and juſtice to own, it cannot be eſteemed any *Adulation*, but rather our duty to acknowledg.

Let's ſtudy then to be quiet, to fear God and honour the King, and not ſpend our ſelves in *national* and *trifling Diſputes*,

be so *pragmatical*, *ecentrical*, and *magisterail*, as to meddle with things above us, by lying in lurking places, watching and meditating *Ambuscadoes* for the downfall of those we ought to pray for. It looks like a studied piece of *malice* to be so angry one with another for Religion, our own Nation and Natives; as *Hypocrates* was with the *Persians*, who refused to give them *Physick*, or heal their *Maladies* when they sent for him.

Gold is the best mettal, and 'tis also most *ductile* and *malleable*. If you are English men, of generous dispositions, and of a *golden nature*, you will be pliable, to be advised, and aim at nothing but your own and the Nations happiness. What though every pin in the Sanctuary doth not stand *point size*, as you would have it? must all *Europe* eccho with your bellowings? must an unwarrantable Covenant or pretence of Spirit hinder our *cementing* and soddering together? do you think, like Sea-Pies, to rise by going against the wind? or, which is worse, to rise by the fall of your Brethren and fellow Christians? do you think to flourish in your private *capacities*? must the publick

publick ſuffer? You know the Apologue the Members conſpired againſt the Belly, and were ſtarved themſelves. 'Tis impoſſible but private intereſt muſt ſink, when publick falls.

You are not ſuch ſtrangers in our *Iſrael*, as to be ignorant, how the waters have ſwelled, the winds blew, the *waves* have beaten againſt the ſhip of the whole Kingdom. You well know what *Conſederacies* and *Combinations* are abroad againſt our *Tranquillity*. *Gabel*, *Ammon*, *Ameleck*, all are bent upon our ruine. Is this a time to cavil one with another, diſpute in triflles, when *Hannibal* hath been ſo lately at your gates? What makes ye now again ſo inveterate to preach down Charity, to curſe, O ye *Meroz!* to ſtand ſo ſtifly upon, in a raſh and falſe cenſuring of your Brethren?

Is this thy Kindneſs to thy Friend? as *Abſolon* ſaid to *Huſſey*, Is this your love to your native Country? that you had rather, *barbaræ has ſegetes*, that the *Satyrs* ſhould dance here? and Forreigners ſhould inhabit our dwellings, rather than you will come ſhort of your wills? What makes you now ſo ſpleeniſh? have you

you felt the shaving of *Selymus* his Beard) or been subject to *Neroes* or *Diocletians*, who would threaten to mingle your blood with your Sacrifices? Whose Ox or Ass was taken from him? Why should you grudg at *Papists* peace and protection, when they give no just occasion to violate yours? Is it not a meer piece of *Sophistry*, or *Satanical* stratagem, if any thing be amiss still to cast all the odium and *imputation* upon them? like those *Heathens* that sent the Christians to the *Lyons*, if *Nilus* did not swell high enough to make their fields fruitful; or if their *legions* miscarried in the field. So unhappy are they, if their Teeth must be set on edge as oft as the people eat sowr grapes.

When *Pirrhus* proposed to himself to win *Rome*, *Sicily* and *Carthage*, *Cyneus* asked him, what he would do at last? *Pirrhus* said, be merry: *Cyneus* replied, So you may be already, if you would be contented with what you have. I must, like another *Cyneus*, tell you, if you would rest satisfied with that *spatious* liberty allowed you already, you may be as *religious* as you will, who hinders you? Why should you murmur at the least *indulgen-*

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cy to others, that are as ſtudious of a *virtuous* life as your ſelves? Why ſhould you then ſtill ſuſpect Popery and Superſtition? and cry to Magiſtrates for Oppreſſion to others? *Charity* thinketh no *evil*. It is a *ſtrong ſuſpition*, where there is no *evident* cauſe of ſuch *Envy*, it doth rather proceed from, or argue, *guilt*.

Thus we are ſtill afraid of *ſhadows*, and by our active *fancies* frame ſuch *Chimera's* of danger, which have no footing in nature. Like *untoward* and *unhappy* Children help forward to our own affliction. As the perfidiouſneſs of the *Donatiſts* and *Manichees* in *Hippo*, by their ſurmiſed *jealouſies* were the cauſe it was made a prey to the *Vandals*.

Thus having proved that the *Doctrine* and *Principles* of Roman Catholicks are not *repugnant* to any Government whatſoever; but very *conſonant* to all *moral* and pious living, and Chriſtian *peace* and *ſociety*. I ſhall now, in the ſequent Chapters, ſearch (without partiality) and with all ſincerity, into the depth and bottom of the uſuall and common aſperſions, miſtakes and objections ſo often

and

and undeservedly cast in their teeth, taking *measures* of their manners, actions, *&c.* without any due regard or examination.

Cap. X.

CAP. X.

Sheweth how widely we are deceived in our undue meaſures and cenſures.

I Am not ſo *unadviſed* as to think their *innocence* ſtands in need of my pen: ſince it's ſtrong enough to reſcue it ſelf from the uſual accuſations and tempeſtuous *Hurricanoes* of Calumnies *groundleſly* imputed. Yet being by *juſtice* and title of this *Apology* obliged to this duty, my chief deſign in this *Treatiſe* being true Charity; I ſhall ſpeak more freely and candidly, to juſtifie the *innocent*, to remove that popular *odium*, to allay that *plebeian paſſion*, to wipe away ſuch impious *Staines*, *Maculations* and polluted *Characters*: and take away thoſe unjuſt *jealouſies*; and rectifie

rectifie those unlearned *prejudices*, which by so many are taken up and urged daily against them. Whereby Christian Charity, according to the *Gospel*, our *Profession*, and promise in *Baptism*, by which we are *graduated* Christians, may be maintained; that we as true Servants of our great Master, may wear the *Badg* and *Livery* of Unity, *Peace* and *Concord*.

Suppositions and *meer conjectures* have been the best *measures* they must have taken of them, their Practices, *Principles* or Doctrines. Whatever is said of *Papists* is generally believed: how are they traduced? what Stories are told of Popes? how many things of the whole body of Catholicks? and all taken for Gospel? yet have no solid *foundation* of truth in them? Whence one of our English Church truely noteth; saying,

'We heighten little things of concern 'to Religion to make them *odious*, fill 'Books with *trivial* Stories and Fables, 'pick'd out of Authors without any *dis-* 'cretion; make it our business to seek 'out Calumnies and Reproaches (which 'good Authors cannot furnish us with)

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'in the ſepulchres and common ſhoars of 'Schiſmaticks, of private and diſavowed 'perſons.

'Controverſies in our time (ſaith Do'ctor *Field*) are grown ſo many in number 'and in nature ſo intricate, that few have 'time and leiſure, fewer ſtrength and 'underſtanding, to examine them. It's 'hard for the moſt judicious and lear'ned men to give a right judgment of 'many points; and yet notwithſtanding 'many engaged perſons are ready to 'force Diſſenters by *coercive* Power, 'or blacken them with opprobrious 'terms.

The Controverſies of *Juſtification* by faith or good works hath filled volumes with *Arguments*, *Definitions* and *Diſtinctions*: but it is hard to find, whether the difference be not *de nomine*, and of words only. The Controverſie of *free-will*, ſince neither part doth abſolutely exclude *Divine Grace*, or concurrence of the will with it, may be called *verbal*; if underſtood *cum grano ſalis*, and by thoſe who carrie no *partial* biaſs on their judgments. Some rigid *Calviniſts* indeed (though not all) conclude an abſolute fate

fate by Predestination to *Salvation* or *Reprobation*: to those I answer, they need not trouble themselves, but let every one go quietly to his destinie; since, by their own Principles, all their *Praying*, *Preaching*, *&c.* can neither help nor hurt: Seeing it is not in their power to avoid evil or do good.

Worship of Images exclaimed as Idolatrous, the scandal is chiefly, as I conceive, taken from the word *Adoration*, which in the Grammar sense is but *adorare*, to pray to: but the generality of *Rome* disown that acceptation, and told them chiefly as *Memorials*, as I shewed before.

The Pope to be *Antichrist*, the *Etymology* of the very word is repugnant to it: the being by us acknowledged likewise the great Patriarch of the most Christian and Western Church; and every one that hath but an ordinary reason, sense or knowledge of Scripture can own but one Antichrist to come, the Prophet *Daniel* spoke of. And that he should give *pardon* for Sins or Sinners whatsoever; without first having remission from God, by Sorrow, Repentance and Amendment;

ment, is ſo great a Calumny, that I pray God to pardon ſuch malicious ignorance. I tremble to hear ſuch horrid *blaſphemies* out of Chriſtian mouths to derogate and ſcandalize their fellow Chriſtians with more than *Heatheniſh* impieties.

Many and other great things have been objected againſt them through *ignorance*, weakneſs, miſtakes or malice: which unjuſt men ſcatter too and fro as chaffe to blinde the eyes of ſimple and credulous people. The crimes of a few miſerable wretches (by none more detcſted than themſelves) are made their guilt: but it is the faſhion *Papiſts* and Popery muſt be brought in by head and ſhoulders, and ſit down under any *affronts*; what ever the *difference* be, to exaſperate mens ſpirits, and make *odious* and ſuſpected thoſe whom we can never confute. It is hard they ſhould alwaies lie under ſuch undeſerved *imputations*, and be perſecuted without liberty of a juſt defence. The *Morality of the Heathens* was more equitable and leſs envious: where the Emperor *Adrian* commanded unto *Minutius* his Proconſul of *Aſia*, as a

thing of great importances, *ne nomen condemnaretur ſed crimen.*

A Divine of our Engliſh Church exclaiming againſt ſuch proceedings, ſaith; 'Our affections change our thoughts, 'and our imaginations fit the ſcene; and 'what we call *reaſon* is many times but 'a chain of *phantaſms*: and we are gui-'ded by prejudices, and overwhelmed 'by Authority, and formed by *education*, 'and ſuck in opinions *careleſly*, ---- are 'deeply ſetled before we examine them; 'and when we examine them it is but by 'halfes; we ſee but few things, and judg 'all things by them; and either ſeek not 'truth at all, or are unable to manage a 'due and *impartial ſearch.* When we 'ſtumble upon it, we are afraid, and 'run away from it, or ſtand to pelt it 'with *dirt* and vile names. In the mean 'time we catch at ſhadows, and grow 'fond of the imaginations of our own 'fancies.

Doctor *Taylor*, one of our late and moſt eminent Divines, in Treatiſe of *Liberty of Prophecying* §. 2. & 10. *p.* 249. 'Colle-'cting ſome conſiderations inducing per-'ſons (ſaith he) of much reaſon and more 'piety

'piety to retain the Religion of their 'forefathers. ---- Their Doctrines having 'had a long continuance and *poſſeſſion* 'of the Church; which therefore can-'not eaſily be ſuppoſed in the preſent 'Profeſſors, to be a deſign (for Cove-'touſneſs, Ambition, *&c.*) ſince they 'have received it from ſo many ages: 'and it is not likely, that all ages 'ſhould have the ſame purpoſes; or that 'the ſame Doctrine ſhould ſerve the ſe-'veral ends of diverſe ages. Its long '*preſcription*, which is ſuch a prejudice 'as cannot be retrenched, as relying up-'on theſe grounds; that truth is more 'ancient than falſhood: that God would 'not for ſo many ages forſake his Church 'and leave her in error. I add not ſuch 'groſs errors as are imputed on them, 'as Idolatry, *&c.* --- Again, the beauty 'and ſplendor of that Church, their pom-'pous Service, the ſtatelineſs and ſolem-'nity of the *Hierarchy*, their name of '*Catholicks*, which they ſuppoſe and 'claim as their own due, and to concern 'no other Sect of Chriſtians. The an-'tiquity of many of their Doctrines; the 'continual ſucceſſion of their Biſhops;

'their immediate *derivation* from the A-
'poſtles; their title to ſucceed Saint *Pe-*
'*ter* (and in this regard chiefly *honou-*
'*red* and ſubmitted to by antiquity,) the
'ſuppoſal and pretence of his perſonal
'*prerogatives* (much ſpoken of by the
'Fathers;) the flattering expreſſions of
'minor Biſhops (in modeſter language
'honourable expreſſions) which by be-
'ing old records, have obtained credu-
'lity. The multitude and variety of
'people which are of their perſwaſion,
'apparent conſent with elder ages in ma-
'ny matters *doctrinal*: the advantage
'which is derived by entertaining ſome
'perſonal opinions of the Fathers: -- the
'great conſent of one part with another
'in that which they affirm to be *de fide.*
'The great differences which are com-
'menced among their adverſaries --- their
'happineſs of being inſtruments in con-
'verting divers Nations: The advantage
'of *Monarchical* Government, the bene-
'fit of which they daily enjoy: The
'*piety* and *auſterity* of their religi-
'ous Orders of men and women:
'the ſingle life of their Prieſts and Bi-
'ſhops, the ſeverity of their Faſts, and
their

'their exterior obſervances: The great 'Reputation of their Biſhops for Faith 'and *Sanctity*: The known holineſs of 'ſome of thoſe perſons, whoſe inſtitutes 'the religious perſons pretend to imi-'tate: Their Miracles falſe or true, 'ſubſtantial or imaginary; The cauſa-'lities and accidents that have happened 'to their adverſaries: the oblique acts 'and indirect proceedings of ſome of 'thoſe who departed from them.

To which, join that of Sir *Edwine Sands*, in his relation of the weſtern Religion, p. 29. ſaying, 'Beſide the *Ro-'man* Church and thoſe Churches united 'with her; we find all other Churches 'to have had their end and decay; as '*Huſſits*, *Sollards*, *Waldenſes*, *Albigenſes*, '*Berengarians*, *&c.* or their beginning 'but of late. This being founded by the 'Prince of the Apoſtles with promiſe to 'him by Chriſt, *&c.* much more to that 'purpoſe, *ibid.* What Church but one can ſhew the fulfilling of innumerable Scriptures touching the Churches *Infallibility*, *Univerſality*, by time, place and perſon? Which can ſpread before your eyes her Line and Pedigree, deſcending

from the Apoſtles to theſe times? which can declare that in all ages ſhe hath had ſome glorious company profeſſing her Religion, even in points their adverſaries now impugne?

There makes for them all that may or can be of any Chriſtian man required: *Literal* Text of *holy Scripture*, *approved Tradition*, *general Councils*, *ancient Fathers*, *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories*, *Chriſtian Laws*, *Converſion of Nations*, *divine miracles*, *heavenly Viſions*, *Unity*, *Univerſality*, *Antiquity*, *Succeſſion*: their true *Miſſion*, Ordination, *&c.* all Monuments, all *ſubſtance*, all accidents of Chriſtianity.

No wit of man can find out Arguments more convincing in themſelves, the truth of Religion, than plain Texts and literal Senſe of holy Writ, the infallible Decrees of Church and general Councils, the indubitable Writings and *unanimous* conſent of *ancient Fathers*, the credible Hiſtories of all times and places, and often the common light of Nature and Reaſon it ſelf. And *ad hominem*, for prevention of all *evaſions*, no victory more certain, no objection more unanſwerable

unanſwerable than the plain confeſſion of their adverſaries themſelves. The Volumes of Fathers and Councils in the eldeſt and pureſt times, be ſo clear in themſelves for Romiſh Faith, that the *primeſt* and moſt learned Reformiſts *ſtudying* the ſame, are enforced through *evidence* of their words and *deeds*, to acknowledg, as Maſter *Bierly* in King *James*'s time produceth clear teſtimonies.

If that Church *erred*, or changed by little and little, or that the true Church was inviſible, *&c.* they require ſome humane reaſon to ſhew it *catigorically*: In what time? in what Articles? what Pope changed? what tumults riſe thereupon? what Councils withſtood? *&c.* which in all innovations they can ſhew eaſily a total change, and in what particular points, as by *Arrians*, *Sabellians*, *Donatiſts*, *Pelagians*, *Proteſtants*, *&c.* What places, what Countries changed with them, what Catholicks ſet againſt them, what kept the old paths? To ſay the Church was extinct a thouſand years, or unknown, is expreſly againſt the Scripture, Chriſts Promiſes and Providence, and Reaſon it

ſelf. If the Church were inviſible whether ſhould Gentiles addreſs for their Converſion? or the doubtful for reſolution? or all faithful for their direction? was our Saviour who was promiſed to all Nations brought to that ſtreight, that he had not a viſible Chappel reſerved to him in the whole world? Is it not good reaſon, God would preſerve his Church which he had planted and watered with his Blood? Is it not a denyal of Gods Providence? and to ſay *Jeſus Chriſt* was unjuſt, or an Impoſtor, to oblige all men to indiſpenſible obedience to her, if erroneous or inviſible? if men were changed into beaſts they may be thus perſwaded.

Is not the Church compared to a City, to a Light, to the Sun, *&c.* can the Church, which is a Sun, be drawn into a chinck? or all her Beams into the center of a Burning-glaſs? Can any Propoſition be more reaſonable, than to ask of thoſe who maintain a thing to be in former ages to produce ſome marks thereof? to ſhew where they had a being, or a Company ſucceſſively holding the ſame Articles with them? The Building

Building is perpetual where God layeth the Foundation.

The Church is the Pillar of truth, 1 *Tim.* 3. cannot err, *Irenæus l.* 3. *c.* 4. *Mat.* 28. *Act.* 3. *Go teach all Nations*--- and I am with you all days to the *conſummation*, *John* 17. Father keep them in thy name *whom thou haſt given me.* See his Petition to keep his Church, gathered of all Nations, and his continual protection, *I will give you another Comforter, to abide with you for ever. John* 16. *When the ſpirit of truth cometh he ſhall teach you all truth.* This aſſiſtance promiſed was ever in all ages; no Hereſie or Jew could ever prevail againſt it.

The guard and ſtrength of Truth in point alſo of antiquity is ever ſuch, that ſhe reſteth ſtill accompanied, attended and fortified with ſureſt friends, ſtrongeſt towers and beſt munition. Priority and *anceſtry* is ſo ſpecially affected by the Wiſdom of God, and maligned by the enemy of man; that in firſt planting the Church its ſaid *Mat.* 4. 13, 24, 25. 5. *Mat.* 13, 17. *Luk.* 8. 12. that he *firſt ſowed good ſeed in the field, and*

and after the enemie came and overſowed Cockle; not obſcurely intimating true Faith and Religion, that is, *good ſeed* was firſt and *ancient* to Sects and Hereſies. Even as temporal nobility is moſt honourable which is derived from the ancienteſt Blood: and in earthly poſſeſſions that Title ſtrongeſt, which pleadeth longeſt preſcription, or ancienteſt evidence. So it cannot be denied but truth was before falſhood, ſubſtance before ſhadows; the Goſpel, Faith, Religion, *&c.* which is firſt and eldeſt is only the true Goſpel, Faith, Church: and other Congregations afterwards ariſing or going out from thence are only malignant inventions of the enemy.

In which reſpect to find out truth in all occurring difficulties we are ſpecially forewarned to recurre to antiquity, to ſuſpect novelty, *Moſes*, *Deut.* 32. before his death, leaving documents to the Children of *Iſrael*, ſaith, *Remember the old days*, ask thy Father, *&c.* ſo *Bildab Jobs* friend 1 *Job* 8. adviſed him in greateſt extremities--- ask the *old generation*, and ſearch diligently, *Solom. Eccl.* 9. 8. 11, 12. let *not the narration* of the ancient

ent *eſcape* thee, *&c.* and *Jer. c.* 16. ſtand upon the *ways and aſk the old paths, which is the good way, &c.* --- on the contrary God reproveth ſuch as walk in a way not trodden: and *Solomons leſſon* is *Tranſgreſs not the ancient bounds which thy Father hath put.* So Saint *Paul* to *Timothy* to keep the *Depoſitum*, avoiding profane novelties.

It's very ordinary with the Fathers to confute Hereticks, by their *innovation.* So *Tertullian* reproveth *Noveliſts* of his time, ſaying to them, who are you? when and from whence came you? what do you in my grounds? by what right, *Marcion*, didſt thou cut down my woods? by what licence, *Valentine*, doſt thou overthrow my Fountains? *&c.* It is my poſſeſſion long ſince I poſſeſſed it, I poſſeſſed it firſt. --- So Saint *Hierom.* of the *Luciferians*, ‘---. Why do you go about ‘after four hundred years to teach that ‘we knew not before? until this day the ‘world was Chriſtian without that Do‘ctrine. So *Athan.* confuteth the *Arrians*, Saint *Hilarie* and Saint *Aug. Donatiſts.* Theſe reaſons may induce us to take new meaſures of that ancient Church, and may

may easily perswade persons (as Doctor *Taylor* in his Treatise of *Liberty of Prophecying*) of much reason and more piety, to retain that which they know to have been the Religion of their forefathers; especially when her Soveraign Rights, Titles and Prerogatives are admitted and acknowledged by her professed enemies. Whence,

Chillingworth confesseth, 'that Protestants cannot with coherence to their 'own grounds, require of others the *belief* 'of any thing besides Scripture, and the 'plain irrefragable and indubitable con-'sequences of it, without most high and '*schismatical* presumption. Dr. *Bramh. Reply*, *p.* 264. 'We do not (saith he) hold 'our 39 Articles to be such necessary 'truths, *extra quas non est salus*, without 'which there is no salvation, nor enjoin 'ecclesiastical persons to swear to them; 'but only to subscribe to them as *theolo-'gical* truths. And *Stilling. p.* 153. saith, men are herein to judg for themselves according to the Scripture; because, saith he 'every one is bonnd to take 'care of his Soul and all things that tend thereto.

Now

Now if there be no abſolute aſſent required to the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*, as to matters of Faith; as Arrchbiſhop *Laud*, *Bramhal*, *Chillingworth*, *Fulk*, *Stillingfleet*, *&c.* confeſs: do not we take hard *meaſures* of Romaniſts, to force them to a *renunciation* of their poſitive points *revealed* by literal texts of Scripture; Gods holy ſpirit reſiding in general *Councils*, confirmed by much reaſon and authority of all perſons and ages: to put any abuſes and reproaches upon them becauſe they do not conform to our negative points not *de fide*.

CAP.

CAP. XI.

Answereth more particularly all other vulgar objections and aspersions so confidently (though erroneously) cast upon them.

IN the sequent Pages I judge it little to the purpose to observe any order by Chapters or Sections. Seeing these usual *imputations* hang together like the Tails of *Sampsons* Foxes; being by their *Antagonists* urged against them with more bitterness and spleen then *sincerity* or *verity*. I will therefore refer the *Reply* to the Censure of all judicious and honest-minded Souls: how weakly and *uncharitably*

uncharitably theſe objections are taken up? how inconcluſive is the inference from them? and how *unreaſonably* they are continued and urged againſt peaceable people; to an abuſive credulity and deluſion of many other ſober Chriſtians.

¶ I will take the firſt Objection and Anſwer from a Divine of the Church of *England*. Their Adverſaries object (ſaith he) againſt the *Papiſts*, as *Tertullus* and the *Jews* did againſt Saint *Paul*, *Act.* 2. Papiſts are *Peſtilent* fellows, ſtirrers up of the People, *factious*, *turbulent*, ſeditious, will not conform, nor are well affected to the preſent *conſtitutions* of power and publick affairs.

'Againſt this calumny which with 'much cunning and eagerneſs is every 'where by ſome levelled againſt them. 'And it is like to the policy of *Julian* 'the *Apoſtate*, who to enſnare *the Chriſtians*; ſet the Statues of the *Emperors* 'with the *Idols* of the Gods: that if 'Chriſtians did civil reverence as to the '*Emperors*; they ſhould be defamed as 'Idolaters; if not they ſhould be accu-

'ſed

'sed as despisers of the Emperors.

'To this sharp and poysoned arrow; 'I shall only oppose the Shield of plain 'dealing; that in a matter so much con- 'cerning the satisfaction of others, and '*Papists* civil safety there may be no 'such obscurities as may harbour any '*jealousies*.

'The humble, *peaceable*, and discreet 'carriage of them may justly plead for 'favour and protection against this *ca-* 'lumny; of *proneness* to sedition, facti- 'on, or illegal disturbance in *civil af-* 'fairs; who even in all the unhappy 'troubles of the late years have generally 'behaved themselves, as shewed they 'had no other design than to live a 'quiet life in all godliness and *honesty*, '*&c.*

¶ *Next may be objected that Papists scruple to take the* OATHS *of* ALLEGIANCE *and* SUPREMACY.

I answer as for the *Oath* of *Allegiance* were it not for some incommodious expressions nothing pertaining to the substance or *design* of the *Oath* it would generally

generally be admitted. There is nothing in the Oath of *Allegiance* which purely concerns the *practical* part of *Allegiance*, but what Catholicks will moſt willingly *ſwear* unto. But they that attentively conſider the ſeveral parts of that Oath, ſhall find that ſome of them are *ſpeculative points*, and *general*: others *practical* and particular which relate, to the actions and demeanour of him that ſwears, of which he is Maſter and conſequently can anſwer for them.

To all the *propoſitions* of this ſecond ſort relating to the *practice* of *allegiance*; there is no Catholick in *England* but will ſwear unto them. But as to the firſt ſort therein contained which involve *ſpeculative points* and general notions, and withall controverted by ſeveral learned men, I muſt confeſs I think it would be very hard to excuſe ſuch an *Oath* from raſhneſs and ambiguity.

I humbly therefore intreat the Reader to conſider: *An Oath is by which God is invoked as a witneſs to what we affirm.* Three Conditions are required to it, expreſſed by the Prophet, *jurabis mihi in æqui-* *Eccl.* 9. 2.

tate, veritate & judicio & juſtitia; Thou ſhalt ſwear in truth, judgment and juſtice. So that if an Oath be ambiguous or falſe it wants the firſt condition, *viz.* truth, if uſed *raſhly* without *diſcretion*, good advice, and not of juſt neceſſity, it will be deſtitute of judgment. 3. It muſt be ſincere and conform to the eternal Law of God, leſt it want juſtice. So that it is a breach of ſolemn Oaths if they be *ambiguous*, entangled, or contradicting one another, &c.

Now when we come to ſwear in general to the *ſpeculative points* of the Popes Power in depoſing Princes excommunicated, and authorizing one Prince to invade another, *&c.* although we ſuppoſe the aſſertion to be true that the Pope hath no ſuch Power; Yet how can they with a ſafe Conſcience ſwear point blanck thereunto? It being a matter of fact, nor in our power to make true or falſe. Secondly, they cannot ſwear that *poſition* of the Popes depoſing power is abſolutely *Heretical*: becauſe the contrary is not evident in Scripture nor condemned by the Church. Any other ill names or epithets they will be content

to

to give it. Thirdly, In doing ſo they ſeem to profeſs a Declaration of a point of Faith which a particular Chriſtian cannot preſume to do, and make himſelf a judg and decider of a point of Faith. Fourthly, They would then by Oath teſtifie that all Popes that have exerciſed and all Writers that have written or maintained ſuch a power even in ſome extraordinary caſes and *emergencies* are to be eſteemed *Hereticks*; which is very raſh for any particular to preſume.

There is a great difference in ſwearing that I believe ſuch a thing to be true, and ſwearing abſolutely ſuch a thing is true, in the firſt, I ſwear, only to my own Opinion (which any that is ſo perſwaded may lawfully do.) In the ſecond I poſitively *ſwear* to the Truth of the thing. And to do this the greateſt *probability* in the world is not ſufficient to warrant me: for the greateſt probability doth not amount to an abſolute certainty without which an *Oath* is raſh.

Papiſts refuſe the Oath of *Allegiance* (as 'tis now worded) framed by one *PERKINS* an Apoſtate Jeſuit, purpoſely mingled with uncertain ſpeculative points

ambiguous and difficult to be interpreted; to make them fall within the Law of refusal: charged with expressions not pertinent to the substance or intention of the Oath, or relating truly to the obedience of the King; nor King *James* ever intended to intangle the *Consciences* of his Subjects, if he had foreseen a few unnecessary words and *expressions* rendred it so. Nor would Catholicks as to *Allegiance* (if an Oath were worded a hundred times more strong than this) make the least scruple of it.

This argument I urge no further than to evince in their justification that their unwillingness to *swear*, is no evidence to prove their want of *allegiance*, or any backwardness to lay down their lives and fortunes in his Majesties service: For the *practical* part of the Subjects allegiance is that which only concerns the security of a Prince, which all Catholicks will gladly swear unto. Therefore I hope a true and real tenderness of Conscience (which can have no ill consequence with it in relation to his Majesties safety) will give *no offence* to them that are over them; nor be a motive

tive to hold a rigorous hand upon them. Eſpecially ſeeing theſe threeſcore years ſince the Oath was firſt eſtabliſhed, it hath been refuſed by Catholicks to be taken upon the ſcore of Conſcience though univerſally taken by others of any dignity conferred upon them in Church or State. Yet no Catholick in *England* of any note or quality that all this time did act contrary to their *allegiance* ſworn unto in the Oath. On the other ſide I could wiſh it were as difficult to name thoſe amongſt the takers of the Oath, who have ſo *fatally* broken them; half the Kingdome being in rebellion contrary to what they had ſworn, to the ruine of the beſt King and the beſt man which perhaps this Nation had ever cauſe to glory in.

As for the Oath of Supremacy, Luther, Calvin, Knox, Gilby all pretended Reformers diſliked it. Calvin *in his Commentary on* Oſee, ſaith, who *advanced* Hen. 8. *to ſuch a height* did not well, for *they no leſs than blaſphemed, when they called him Supream Head under Chriſt. Chemnitius* a learned Lutheran in his *Epiſt. ad eloc. Briard.* of Queen *Eliz.* Suprema-

cy, ſaith, *quod fœminæ & a ſæculis inaudito faſtu ſe papiſſam & caput Eccleſiæ facit.* So *Gilby in Admonit. ad Angl.* Our *Cartwright* alſo teacheth againſt Supremacy. So do Presbyterians generally here and beyond Sea. *Henry* the eighth once acknowledged the Supremacy more than ever any King did, as appeared by Cardinal *Campeius* and *Wolſey* Legates (he being called before them.) After his will being not executed made the Oath againſt Supremacy.

This Oath of Supremacy as it is worded and according to the ſenſe of the firſt Lawgiver, cannot lawfully be taken by any Chriſtian or *aſſembly* without contradicting his belief, underſtanding it Grammatically according to the proper and natural ſenſe of the words at leaſt ambiguous if not *formally* contradictory. --or the cauſe or reaſon of framing this Oath by *Hen.* 8. and what power was exerciſed by virtue of it, and of the Parliament enjoining it, appears to be a juriſdiction purely ſpiritual was communicated to him, and aſſumed by him. Its evident alſo by the many practiſes it was only a ſpiritual by-title of Supremacy

maey he ſought for, to deprive the Pope: for he ſtood in need of ſuch a power to juſtifie his divorce and diſpenſe with his intention of taking Eccleſiaſtical livings of Abbies & Monaſteries into his hands. The Protection in King *Edward* the ſixth continued the Oath to make new Church-Laws, Inſtitutions and commit new Sacriledges, changes, *ubique arti* contrary to which King *Hen.* 8. publiſhed and declared. Queen *Mary* renounces this juriſdiction and reſtores it to the Church. Queen *Elizabeth* re-aſſumes it, having a greater neceſſity for it then her Brother, becauſe her marriage was declared *null* by the Pope.

This Oath conſiſts of two parts, the *affirmative*, as that the King is only Supream Head as well in Temporal as Spiritual, *&c.* Secondly, the Negative that no Prince, Prelate, *&c.* hath any *juriſdiction* or ſpiritual Power, *&c.* This Negative part of the Oath is contrary to a point of their *Faith* wherein not only all ſpiritual authority of the Pope, but of a general Council or Weſtern Church is diſclaimed. Is all juriſdiction *purely ſpiritual* only in the Kings

right? are Princes Paſtors of Souls? hath not a Heathen King the ſame ſpiritual right? How could King *James* then call the *Pope Patriarch* of the Weſt? or how can a free general Council oblige Chriſtians, and to which learned Proteſtants, profeſs to ſubmit to as the chiefeſt authority under God?

And although in Queen *Elizabeths* time the *Oaths* were explicated, that only *civil* and Kingly authority in cauſes *Eccleſiaſtical*, was intended) yet this negative clauſe cannot be by ſuch expoſitions eluded. Secondly, An Oath to Catholicks and tender *Conſciences*, is ſo dreadful that they dare not call God to witneſs they ſincerely ſwear the Pope ought not to have any Superiority in *ſpiritual cauſes*; unleſs it might be permitted them at the ſame time, and the ſame breath to ſignifie that it is intended of civil and Kingly authority in cauſes *Eccleſiaſtical*. They tremble to ſwear at words ambiguous but formally contradictory. Thirdly, In the thirty nine Artticles of the Church of *England* it is defined that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath no juriſdiction in this Kingdome, and theſe Articles

Articles are confirmed by Act of Parliament. Whereby it appears their intention is to require a renuntiation of a Catholick point of Faith, and the Popes being Head of the Weſtern Church. This Act being made ſince the ſaid expoſition.

The *Oaths* of *Supremacy* and Allegiance, if the former were ſo expreſſed as to require an acknowledgement of a *civil* Supremacy in his Majeſty, and Eccleſiaſtical to the Church-Governours: and if the unfortunate word *Heretical*, and ſpeculative points were left out of the other, no Catholick would refuſe either. And more then this no Proteſtant, Preſbyterian, *&c.* that freely take them can intend by them: an Oath being in it ſelf, a religious affirmation with Gods Seal.

Whoſoever takes theſe Oaths abſolutely muſt ſwear to take Almighty God to witneſs as he ſhall anſwer at the dreadful day of Judgment, that he believes the Pope hath no Power, *&c.* now this word believe (being in a matter of Religion and *Profeſſion* of the ſame) can ſignifie nothing but a Chriſtian belief or

Faith:

Faith: and imports thus much, I *N. N.* do ſwear in the preſence of Almighty God that the Pope hath no Power, *&c.* As I believe there is a God in Heaven, or any other Article of Faith: all this is virtually and really comprehended in the word *believe*.

Now what man of Conſcience, of what Opinion ſoever, that *feareth an Oath* to uſe the Preachers words, *Eccleſ.* 9. 2. will venture his Soul ſo far as to ſwear all this? are we all of us ſo certain that no *forraign juriſdiction*, *&c.* or that its *Heretical*, *&c.* as we are certain there is a God, Heaven, Hell, *&c.* and ſo make it a part of, and Article of our Belief, when it is not expreſly not plainly revealed in Scripture or declared by the Church; and ſo not fundamental to our *Belief* or abſolutely neceſſary to our Salvation?

If you ſay it may be obſcurely delivered in Scripture, then at leaſt the unlearned cannot be able to diſcover it. How then ſhall ſuch dare to ſwear; as in effect they do when they take the Oaths that they are revealed and contained in Scripture? when by reaſon of obſcurity they

they are not certain whether it be revealed there or no? Is it not a juſt matter of ſcruple and fear for a timorous Conſcience to ſwear a thing not to be which he is not certain of? Secondly,

May the very *learned* in points not neceſſary to Salvation, or obſcurely delivered venture to ſwear that ſuch a thing is not certainly in Scripture, only becauſe he himſelf conceives it not there? will he make his private judgment rule of *his Faith* and his Conſcience as he muſt do who makes thoſe propoſitions in the Oaths Articles of his Belief? can it be denied that other men no leſs learned diſpute the caſe doubtfully? whence we can neither ſwear to be or not be, becauſe we have no ſufficient certainty *pro* or *con* concerning them. Though we may uſe ſuch expreſſions as to avouch; we really think and are fully perſwaded that the Pope hath no power, *&c.* But it is moſt raſh and *temerarious* to ſwear poſitively to ſuch *inevident propoſitions* expoſing our ſelves to an eminent peril of taking a falſe Oath and thereby committing a ſin to God.

'Tis pity ſuch *ſlender evaſions* ſhould ſatisfie

tisfie us, as have been ſcorned by Heathens: 'tis much that a moral Conſcience ſhould more check them, than a clearer light can awe us; as if we honoured more the *Genius* of a *Cæſar*, then we *reverence* the preſence of a God. They had their *perjury*-revenging Gods. Our God hates falſe Oaths as appeared in his ſeverity to *Zedekias* for breaking Covenant with the Babyloniſh Monarch though a *Tyrant* of the firſt magnitude. Were all Subjects duly ſollicitous about the weight of this *bond*, we ſhould be leſs prone to take Oaths and more ſtudious to obſerve them.

Matter of an *Oath* ought to be plain and obvious to our underſtanding without obſcurity and *intricacy*: I muſt know what to ſwear otherwiſe I take Gods name in vain in ſwearing without judgment. They muſt have the aforeſaid three conditions, *viz.* to ſwear in judgment, righteouſneſs and truth, the matter muſt be lawful, not raſh, *obſcure*, *&c.* it muſt not intrench on the authority of Superiors temporal or ſpiritual; for Oaths are ſo ſacred that tis a piacular offence to break them. No ſin is ſo followed

followed at the heels with more ſignal judgments then this of perjury, as might be convinced by a million of examples.

I will now conclude this queſtion with the cenſure of two learned Divines of the Engliſh Church concerning theſe Oaths: the firſt objecting Papiſts ſcruple to take the Oaths.

Anſwereth ſaying --- 'they think it is 'a Pill which will choak their Conſci-'ence if they ſwallow it; or purg them 'out of their livings if they do not. 'For contrary to other Phyſick this o-'perates moſt ſtrongly on thoſe that ne-'ver take it.

'Remember how cruel a thing it is 'to make mens conſciences paſs as *Gide-'on* did the men of *Succoth*, or *David* 'the *Ammonites* under briars and thorns; 'under ſaws and harrows of either 'ſharpe *contradictions*, or prickly diſtin-'ctions; unſafe Salvoes. God hath oft 'exacted the forfeiture of perjury as of '*Saul* and *Zedekias*: and howſoever 'God in his providence may put ſuſpen-'ſions of Oaths as to their actual *execu-'tion*, yet they cannot find any abſo-'lution from the obligation which goes

'whit

'with inconditionate Oaths, ſo long as 'they are within our moral poſſibility 'of keeping them. How any man can 'ſwear and promiſe to be true and faith-'ful to two different intereſts without 'being forſworn, or falſe and unfaithful 'to the one or the other, ſeems a *Gordian* 'knot which only the Sword diſſolves 'by cutting not untying.

'The State of humane affairs have 'been moſt fully repreſented in the glaſs 'of our times with as many *variating* 'faces as the Moon. We have ſeen the 'threefold cords of *Oaths*, *Proteſtations*, '*Covenants* could not reſiſt thoſe Tides 'and Storms which have driven the 'whole Nation (as to extream events 'and affairs) from grounds of fidelity 'and allegiance, both as to *civil* and *ec-'cleſiaſtical* obedience.

'Furthermore mens refuſing to take 'Oaths ſeems to be a great fortifying 'of Power eſtabliſhed. For experience 'hath taught us how eaſily men are abſol-'ved from ſuch publick tyes, ſeem they ne-'ver ſo ſtrict. Neither is there any rea-'ſon to think they will be any ſtronger 'for the future than they were in former

'times

'times. Publick ſecurity doth not con-'ſiſt in any verbal *formalities* but in 'that *efficacious* power we have by the 'Sword.

Publick authority and ſafety riſeth from the ſatisfaction of mens judgments to the juſtice of mens proceedings, winning reſpect and love by that *equity* in Government and *moderation* which according to Gods ancient Laws is ſettled and known, not by arbitrarineſs of will and meer force; which as to the principle is *tyrannical*, be it never ſo tempered in the exerciſe.

Under ſuch Government, wiſe Chriſtians know how with humility, *peace* and *patience* to ſubmit ſo far to piety as is neceſſary for publick peace. *Strictneſs* of Religion terrifies Chriſtians with fear of falſe *Oaths* (one of the blackeſt Stains and moſt indelible Spots and unpardonable ſins of the Soul, if it be a blaſpheming denying and renouncing of God) yet allows latitude of peaceable ſubjection as may not always force them upon baniſhments, perſecutions, forfeitures, *&c.*

Whence *Thorndike* ſaith, 'I conceive 'there

'there is great reaſon the Kingdom
'ſhould enact a new *Oath*. For they
'make *limitations* for the ſenſe of the
'Oath to which *Oath, non obſtante*, they
'take in the full latitude of its words
'though they expreſs not any of the
'ſaid *limitations* ---when the Oaths re-
'quired bear two ſenſes in the proper
'ſignification of the words and are at leaſt
'ambiguous but formally *contradictory*;
'and deſtructive to one Article of the
'Creed: to the being, *viz.* of any viſi-
'ble Church (if no ſupream Head) as
'founded by God in it.

'What can be more juſt, more con-
'duce to Gods honour, more benign
'in the King and Parliament, and more
'for *reputation* and future bleſſing to the
'Kingdome, than that ſuch ambiguous
'expreſſions in the *Oaths* ſhould be
'cleared, and taken away? that Oaths
'might be taken uniformly and cordi-
'ally by all: that all tender *conſciences*
'need not ſcruple, when care is taken
'that men may clearly underſtand what
'they are compelled to *ſwear*.

'It will deeply concern us, ſaith *Thorn-*
'*dike*, to avert Gods *indignation* from
'our

'our Nation, which involves Kingdoms in 'guilt and puniſhment for raſh oaths; --- 'whence he calls them the crime and 'ſin of the Nation.

What burden and guilt lyes on the Kingdom *by occaſion* of oaths ſo ſolemnly impoſed on the whole people, which if we regard the natural force of the words, no man can take them ſincerely, being ambiguous, and grammatically ſignifie more than intended; as they are explicated: ſeeing there is no neceſſity for it, for what neceſſity is it to uſe ſuch obſcure phraſes, and dubious acknowledgments, which contribute nothing to ſafety or ſecurity to his Majeſty; but on the contrary infinite prejudice to his afflicted Subjects. And we have experienced great diſloyalty from them that have freely taken them, and none in Catholicks that have refuſed. For the Oaths by none more readily taken and earneſtly impoſed on others, than by thoſe who began the Wars, and promoted the *Covenant*; and on the contrary, by none more ſcrupled and refuſed than by thoſe who always aſſiſted the King.

¶ Thirdly it may be objected, as lately by Doctor *Denton*, *&c.* That Papists suffer not for Religion, but because they are not obedient to the Laws, *&c.*

Resp. 1. By a Proviso of the Act 25, and 27. of *Eliz.* if any Priest committed shall submit to the Laws, and take the *Oaths*, they shall be freed from the penalty; and not adjudged *Traytors*, if they renounce their Religion.

Resp. 2. Suppose that in the Apostles time a Law had been made by any King or Emperour of a contrary Religion to them: that if any of the said Apostles or Priests should enter into their Dominions, to preach a contrary Doctrine to to the Religion there received, and to exercise any of their *Apostolical* or Priestly *Functions*, it should be *treason*, and under pain of death.

Would or could the Apostles have obeyed those Laws? or did they obey the Governours of the *Jews*, their lawful Superiours, when they commanded them to preach no more in the name of *Jesus Christ*?

Christ? or to disperse Christian Doctrine, which they held for Treason? or did they fly out of their Dominions? lest their sufferings should be imputed to disobedience, and not for the name of *Christ?* Is there not another *blood* to be respected, called by the Prophet, the *blood* of the Soul, whereof the Pastor shall be guilty if he fly for fear, or forsake his flock in time of danger and persecution? Have not the English Priests the same Obligation of Conscience to help their Country-men in spiritual *necessities*, as had the Apostles and *Apostolick* men to strangers, for whose help they were content to offer their lives, and incur any danger whatsoever?

¶ Fourthly, *It may be demanded why cannot Papists come to our Churches?*

Resp. Unity and *Uniformity* are two things, one being *internal*, the other *external*; therefore if they should conform, yet they can have no verity, faith or truth but as forced; by which *Religion* is never better'd. Truth and falshood are like the clay in *Nebuchadonosors* Image,

they may cleave, but they will never incorporate. Christ's Coat had no *seam*, though the Churches *vesture* was of divers colours: whence a learned Father saith, *in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit.* The true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God, and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture, or partner.

¶ Fifthly, *To say or object the Popes Supremacy is dangerous.*

This reflects not only upon the honour of Catholicks, but the safety of all the Professors of it. They acknowledg the Pope, as Successor to Saint *Peter*, is head of the Church, and hath *supream Authority* in matters *spiritual:* but how this can be offensive to the Temporalities of Princes is not understood by me, nor those great Monarchs that are of his Church, and submit to his authority, and and yet are *zealous* and *jealous* of their own power and temporal *Regalities* as any Princes can possible be.

Our graver and more learned Divines distinguish between the inward power of the *Keys* and the outward *jurisdiction*, by temporal penalties: this they assign

to

to the King, in all cauſes and over all perſons: that they reſerve to the Clergy, as neither derived from or *dependent* of the Civil Magiſtrate. And if I rightly underſtand the Religion of the Engliſh Church, although they allow the King to be ſupream Governour of their Church; yet they do not confer any *Paſtoral office* or Juriſdiction upon him; and conſequently he is one of the Flock, and therefore as ſuch he is ſubject to Paſtors. Wherefore if this be not looked on by Proteſtants as *derogatory* to the Kings authority, I hope, by the ſame reaſon Roman Catholicks will not be found guilty for owning the Popes Supreamacy in matters *meerly ſpiritual.* There can be no juſt fear or jealouſie, that ſpiritual juriſdiction ſhould ſupplant ſecular obedience, becauſe the Church-Diſcipline in it ſelf is ſo innocent and paſſive.

We our ſelves acknowledg a ſpiritual authority in the Biſhops, promiſe a *Canonical* obedience to them and not to the King; admit Juriſdiction in their ſpiritual Courts, *&c.* nay the *Presbyterians* in their *Conſiſtory* and *eccleſiaſtical* Courts will allow the King no authority at all,

more than the meaneſt Subject; and ſo do other Sects. Now if a Subject *v. g.* the Biſhop of *Canterbury* may be ſupream in Spirituals, without any derogation to the Prince, may not the Pope with leſs danger and inconvenience be truely called (as King *James* did) the Patriarch or Superintendent of the Weſt?

For if that power be purely ſpiritual, being of a different nature (as is ſaid before) it cannot in the leaſt degree be *prejudicial* to the Kings civil power, but rather oblige thoſe that acknowledg it faithfully to obey the King. Therefore it ought to be no obſtacle to *Toleration*; otherwiſe no Chriſtians or Sect whatſoever ought to be tolerated: for let them be Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptiſts, *&c*, do not they depend upon and own a power diſtinct from his Majeſties *Civil* Power? I mean a Power meerly ſpiritual or paſtoral, not ſubordinate to the King, but to which the King himſelf, if he be of your Religion, ought to be ſubject, as no Paſtor but a Sheep, no Teacher but a Hearer, no Adminiſter of Sacraments but a Receiver. Such a Power all Sects and Religions ſeem to

own

own, no Catholick depends on or can own more.

The ſpirituall *Primacy* of the chief Paſtor preſerves peace and unity, and is a greater defence to them than many Armies, in ſubduing their minds to *civil* obedience, without ſuch a ſpiritual authority there is no *influence* on the people, all preaching and Laws are but *ſhaking Bulwarks*, to ſupport Monarchy. No Kingdom hath been more happy at home, or glorious abroad, than when the Pope was their ſpirituall Father. When ſuch a *Primacy*, purely ſpiritual, was acknowledged in *England*, the Church here was never torn in pieces with *Schiſmes*, nor poiſoned with *Hereſies*: the honour and ſafety of our Dominions were far from being prejudiced or invaded.

It is denied then the owning Supremacy ſhould worſe their condition: ſhall notions convince experience? when a demonſtration it ſelf often gives way to practice? Let's ſummon the Kings of *Europe* of Catholick Profeſſion to decide the contrary unanimouſly, and proclaim their people are not rebellious by reaſon of any eccleſiaſtical *dependance* abroad.

Roman Catholicks did ever renounce any *temporal* power or *jurisdiction* belonging to the Pope over any Subject of his Majesties. But since there is a Power purely *spiritual* (as is shewed before) from which Princes are not exempted. Is it not more for their temporal security, that the spiritual power should reside in one single person, that usually is both learned and discreet, and withal is a thousand miles removed, than in many thousand within his own Kingdom, not all of them Angels? The King of *France* esteems it a priviledg, granted him in a *Concordate* by the Pope, that no particular Bishop should have power, in any case, to excommunicate him.

Never was there greater supporters to the Crown than *English* Catholicks have been ever against the least encroachment offered by the Bishop of *Rome* himself; as it is to be seen in the Statut. Laws of *King Richard* the Second, wherein you find in many businesses (the Pope was interessed) the Roman Catholicks flatly denying the Crown of *England* to be subject to any *immediately*, but to God: yet

yet acknowledged in the very ſame Parliament the Biſhop of *Rome*'s ſpiritual Juriſdiction. And Biſhop *Bilſon*, in his Defence between Chriſt and Antichriſt, brings in the Parliament conſiſting then altogether of Roman Catholicks, expreſſing their *loyalty* to their Soveraign Prince in theſe words, *we will with our ſaid Soveraign the King and his ſaid Crown and* Regality, *in caſes aforeſaid, and in all other caſes, attempted againſt Him, his Crown or Dignity in all points, live and dye. p.* 3. *p.* 243.

And in *Holinſhed* 2. Volume of the laſt Edition, p. 309. we find in the Reign of King *Edward* the Firſt, all the Catholick Lords aſſembled in *Lincolne* in Parliament in the name of all eſtates did anſwer, the Popes *right to judg, &c.* that they would not conſent their King ſhould do any thing tending to the diſinheriting of the Crown or right of *England*. And that it was never known (and conſequently never practiſed) that the King of this Land had anſwered or ought to anſwer for their rights in the ſaid Realm, before any Judg eccleſiaſtical or ſecular. Yet at the ſame time they ſtiled Pope *Boniface*

nisace the *high Bishop of the Roman universal Church*, and themselves *his devout sons*, *&c.* Therefore Catholick Religion hath no *headship* prejudicial to temporal *Supremacy*. If this were a Check to the Glory of Kings, why do the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, *Poland*, *Portugal*, the Emperour and other great Princes in *Germany* uphold it, and glory in it? the Duke of *Savoy* with the *Florentine* and the rest of *Italian* Princes, living under the Popes Nose, absolute and arbitrary in their Dominions, dispute with Sword in their hand for their *Temporalities*.

And for the Catholick Church in *England*, in Catholick times *Stat.* 25. *Edward* 3. *& Statut.* 16. *Richard*, did not admit the Pope's deposing power in temporals; made it a preeminence to appeal to *Rome*, or to submit to a Legates jurisdiction, without the Kings License; or on the Popes summons to go out of the Kingdom, or receive any *mandates* or brief from *Rome*, or purchase Bulls for *Preferments* to Churches, *&c.* and the reason was given because the Crown of *England* is free from earthly subjection

jection, and immediately ſubject to God.

Our Catholick Lords of *England* have in the name of the whole Body made oft *proteſtations* of eternal fidelity to the King, and renouncing all dependance of any forreign power, that can any way be prejudicial to him. Many Proteſtations, Profeſſions, *Declarations* have been printed by ſeveral Catholicks, that no authority on earth can abſolve them from their neceſſary and natural Allegiance: and that his fidelity was a duty of their Religion, have made and will be ready to give all ſecurity of *peaceable* obedience and ſincere integrity, that any words or actions can confirm.

But you will object, and ſay, they allow a power in the Pope, to excommunicate Princes, and thence follows a train of pernicious *conſequences of depoſing, raiſing his Subjects againſt him, &c.*

Reſp. That the power of *Excommunication* is indeed neceſſarily annexed to the paſtoral Function; and therefore to be allowed in the cheiſe Biſhop over his Flock.

Flock. But they deny and renounce any further extent of that power unto those things which appertain to *Cæsar*; and therefore they declare as firmly, that notwithstanding any such excommunication they will bear true faith to our Prince, and him maintain and defend against all opposers whatsoever.

You may again object the Council of Lateran *decreed, Princes that favoured Hereticks after* admonition *given; the Pope might discharge the Subjects from allegiance, and give away the Kingdom to some Catholick to root out Heresie.*

Resp. 1. Councils are not *infallible* in every point, even in matter of *fact*; and other Constitutions (not concerning faith or doctrine) being but human Laws are *changeable* and oft admit *exceptions*.

2. Council's *Ordinations* are to be taken according to the prudent meaning of the Legislators, which bear another sense than the words taken lye.

In this case suppose the Emperours of the East and West, Kings of *England*, *France*, *Hungary*, *Hierusalem*, *Cyprus*, *Arragon*,

ragon, &c. agree together to purge their Kingdoms of Hereſies; and upon forfeiture the Church ſhould give their Dominions to another that will perform their Compact: theſe Princes being preſent (by their Embaſſadors) at the Councils, and what was there done, was done by their conſent. The *Albigenſian* Hereſie beginning to be ſo numerous, and even dangerous, thoſe Monarches thought themſelves in no worſe a condition for that *decree*, nor did any Catholick King ſince complain or proteſt againſt this Council for it.

3. Note, the Decrees of ſome Councils not received or acknowledged *univerſally* by the Catholick Church are not *obligatory*, but that which is principally to be conſidered is, that in the *Decree* of this *Lateran* under *Innocent* the Third, it is ordained (not Supream Princes) but *temporales poteſtates & dominos*, which bear Offices in States and Kingdoms, to take Oaths to root out all Hereticks, under the penalty of being denounced to be deprived of their Eſtates, *&c.* yet reſerving the right of the ſupream Lord.

4. this

4. This pretended Article of Faith hath been disclaimed by a world of unquestionable Catholicks, and all *allegations* confuted by learned Authors of our Nation, Doctor *Bistop* writ a Book purposely against it.

5. No proof can be given, that it was ever received or executed by any Catholick Kingdom out of *Italy*. The reason is, because those *decrees* were never published by *Pope Innocent*, nor a Copy of them extant either in the body of the Councils or *Vatican* Library or elsewhere, till a certain *German* three hundred years after said, he found them in a Manuscript, compiled he knows not by whom.

6. By testimony of all Historians at that time, Pope *Innocent* suffered in Reputation, having convoked so many Prelates to no purpose. 60 *Capitula* were recited in the Assembly, and many penned in a stile as if they had been concluded; but nothing at all could plainly be decreed; no *Conciliary* determinations, made but one or two, *viz.* about the recovery of the *holy Land*, and subjection of the *Greek* Church to the *Roman*: for a War began then between them of *Pisa* and *Genua*, which

which called the Pope from the Council.

7. Be it granted a *conciliary decree*, it is ſo far from looking like an Article of Faith, which (ſaith *Bellarmine* and *Canus*) may eaſily be diſcovered by the ſtile. Here is nothing propoſed to be believed, no *Anathema* fulminated, no ſignification that the contrary is againſt the Scripture, *&c.* therefore at moſt it is a meer *eccleſiaſtical ordinance* touching external diſcipline, and as ſuch, what is more ordinary, and permitted, than for Princes to refuſe admittance therein? we ſee ſome Churches of *France* reject the decrees of reformation made in the Council of *Trent*; and alſo practiſed in *England*.

8. Suppoſe it be an ordinance, yet *ſupream* Princes and Kings are not named: but excluded and only their Officers and Subſtitutes, *&c.*

9. No example can be produced in the Empire or other Catholick State that ſuch an Oath in ſucceeding times was impoſed or threatned. But on the contrary we know *Charls* the fifth by a Law of the Empire publickly permitted *Lutherans* in ſeveral Provinces, and all the Kings

Kings of *France* since *Hen.* 3. permitted the *Calvinists*: yet the Pope never threatned *deposition*, or they feared it.

Therefore this doctrinal point of Faith is shamefully pretended to be involved on that or the like Decrees, *viz.* the Popes *power of deposing, &c.*

What State, Kingdome or City received or taught the People this, even as a probable Opinion? It is well known in practice and doctrine, other Sects and their accusers have been more faulty in this point then they, as History and experience testifie of Princes actually deposed in *Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Geneva, &c.* and absolute rebellion following their doctrine in *Poland, Bohemia, England, France, Hungary, Germany, &c.*

Obj. Innocent *the third who presided in* this Council *actually deposed King* John *and* Otho *the Emperour.*

Resp. Popes as private Doctors may err in matters of fact; their Decrees and Bulls are not always held as infallible, and may be opposed (as often they have been

been by Papiſts) nor will they ſcruple to do it eſpecially about temporal affairs. We do not approve whatſoever Popes do in fact in *depoſing*, *&c.* If ſome Popes have been exorbitant, have not Papiſt themſelves defended their Princes againſt all pretended illegal impoſitions of *Rome*? If ſome *Popes* have tranſgreſſed and been *paſſionate* men, it doth not follow all have, as ſome Princes have been Tyrants, not all.

This King *John*, Proteſtant Hiſtories conclude (paſſing by his youthful Rebellion, murthering his Nephew, his Atheiſm, *&c.*) they record he loſt our whole intereſt in *France*, diſcontenting all his people, not defending their Rites and Priviledges, *&c.* So *Heylin*, *Daniel*, *Martin*, Sir *Robert Cotton* Hiſt. And,

Stow in his Chronicle 170. relates it thus: King *John* being diſſolute and *perfidious*, and would not grant the Laws or Liberties of the Charter, had as many enemies as Nobles; Clergy and Layty petitioned againſt him for the Pope to depoſe him (an opinion then in practice) the Pope would not but ſent *Pan-*

dulph his Legate who comes over to *Dover* to King *John*, to counsel the King's peace, and reconcile him to God and the Church. The King living then in great jeopardy to loose his Kingdome. The King of *France* being invited by the Nobles and Clergy to invade the Kingdome, saved the Kingdome by it, after this the *Clergy* came over, and all was in peace.

The Pope after this excommunicates the Barons, for the disobeying the King, and calling in the French King *Lewis* into the Realm. And *Gaule* the Legate was sent from the Pope to forbid *Lewis* to go into, or invade *England*, to excommunicate him if he did: But

'*Lewis* of *France* arrived in *England*, 'whom the *Barons* assisted against King '*John*. *John* soon after died; his eldest 'son, *Hen.* 3. at nine years old was 'crowned King by the Bishops of *Win-*'*chester* and *Bath*, *&c.* and the Govern-'ment of the King was committed to 'the Popes Legate, the Bishop of *Win-*'*chester* and Earl of *Pembroke*. The *Le-*'*gate* maintained the King's part, admo-'nished, prayed and commanded the dis-

'obedient

'obedient to do as he did; called a 'Council at *Briſtol*, cauſed the Biſhops 'to incline to the King's part, notwith-'ſtanding *Lewis* did what he could to 'the contrary. Seeing *Lewis* and his 'complices were excommunicated every 'Sunday by the Legate, though they had '*London* and all the Eaſt parts of *Eng-*'*land.*

'*Lewis* had notice from *Rome*, except 'he went out of *England*, the ſentence 'of excommunication of the Legate 'ſhould be confirmed by the Pope. For 'this cauſe, ſaith *Stow* 175. a truce was 'taken between *Lewis* and King *Henry*. '*Philip* of *France* called his ſon *Lewis* to 'return; he being paſſed over: the Earl 'of *Salisbury*, Earl *Warren*, *&c.* revol-'ted to the Kings ſide, and this by in-'duſtry and virtue of the Pope's Legate. '*Lewis*, being abſolved from the excom-'munication, went into *France*, but his 'complices, were by the Legate depri-'ved of all benefit by their diſobedience. 'See *Stow* 170.

Thus we ſee how for want of know-ledge things are carried on, and repor-ted very frequently in the worſt ſenſe;

and construction: it may be easily collected out of our own Authors and *Chronicles*, that Popes have been great friends to our Princes, and this Nation. Take in short out of *Stow* 883. that Pope *Adrian* the fourth, an Englishman, *invested Hen.* 2. with the Dominion of *Ireland*, and had it confirmed with an Assembly at *Waterford*. Pope *Urbane* who sent a Legate, the Bishop *Sabrine* into *England*, with sentence of excommunication against the City of *London* and Cinque-Ports, and all those that troubled the King's peace.

King *Richard* of *England* being taken Prisoner unjustly by *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, in return from the Wars with the *Saladine*; demanding a great ransome and misusing him. The Pope excommunicated the Duke of *Austrich*, and injoyned him to release the *Covenants* that he constrained our King to make; and send home the Pledges. The Duke refusing this Order shortly after broke his Leg, and in great anguish ended his life; and was kept unburied till his Son released the English Pledges. Thus were the Pledges restored and the money behind released. How

How oft did the Pope grant to the King of *England* the Tenth of all Eccleſiaſtical Goods, as to *Edward* the firſt and ſecond? Sent the Abbot of Saint *Denis*, Legat, to requeſt *Edward* the ſecond to remove from him *Pierce Gaveſton*, without which the Kingdom could not be in peace, nor the Queen injoy the Kings true love, *Vide Stow* 213. *Edw.* 2. The Pope ſent *Ganelinus* and *Lucius de Fliſco* (by the Kings requeſt) to make peace between *England* and *Scotland*, and reconcile to the King *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* ---who brought Bulls from the Pope to excommunicate the Scots, except they returned to peace with the King of *England*.

William Longſhamp Biſhop of *Ely* and *Legate* to the Pope and Chancellour of *England* was made Governour of the Realm by *Richard* the firſt. Afterward the Archbiſhop of *Roan* was made Regent of *England*, then being made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Then you ſee there was no jealouſie of the Pope or his Clergy, but on the contrary for many hundred years our Princes and Nation repoſed (as with juſt reaſon they

might) the greatest trust, and confidence in their loyalty, faith and honesty. It would fill a volume it self to recount all the benefits, priviledges, honours and advantages this Nation hath received from the Popes and See of *Rome*. See Bishop *Smith* in his *Epist. Histor. ad regem Jacobum* of the Pope's favours to *England*.

'Hence our first Protestant Archbi-
'shop of *Canterbury*, *Parker* in *Eliz. lib.*
'*antiq. Britan. ait*, *hanc insulæ nobilita-*
'*tem atque gloriam* Dei providentiæ *at-*
'*que* beneficentiæ, *&c.* The nobleness
'of this Island for being the first of all
'Provinces of the World that received
'the Christian Faith, and the glory
'thereof is to be acknowledged to have
'proceeded from the providence and
'goodness of God: yet the way it self
'and means by which this nobility and
'glory was won unto it, it was first and
'always laid open unto us from the See
'of *Rome*; we have always from that
'time persevered in the unity of the
'Roman Faith, and our subjection to
'the Roman Church is most ancient.
'*Hæc ille.*

'Abbot

'Abbot *Fecknam* in his Oration to the 'Parliament of the firſt of *Eliz.* ſaith 'thus, *Damianus* and *Fugatianus*, as Em-'baſſadours from the See of *Rome*, did 'bring into this Realm a thouſand four 'hundred years paſt, the very ſame A-'poſtolical Religion we are now in poſ-'ſeſſion of. (For then the Roman Religion was not voted down) he would not have dared to have uttered in that time and place, but that he could produce good witneſs and antiquity to his warrant.

Let not now their Adverſaries be ſo unreaſonable as to quote *Mariana*, *Suarez* or *Bellar.* or any other private Author that may have enlarged the juriſdiction of Popes, to the prejudice of Kings, and then lay their particular Opinions to the charge of all. For were this a juſt and fair way of dealing, they could, with as much eaſe, requite them with Text for Text out of *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knox*, *Buchanan* and many more, whoſe Opinions are at leaſt as dangerous to the ſafety of Monarchy. The difference betwixt them being only this, whereas the former lodge the depoſing

power in the Pope only (whose person is at a safe and sufficient distance, at least, from us:) the latter bring the danger home to the doors of Princes, and place it in the people whom they make both judges and parties in the case.

Secondly, *Mariana*'s personal fault and his opinion were condemned by a Provincial Council of the same Society held at *Paris* 1516. and that confirmation ratified by *Claudius Aquaviva*, the General of the Order: and the Doctors of *Sorbon* in the same year declared it an ungodly position. Thirdly, *Mariana* was not resolute in that opinion neither, but handled it problematically. Fourthly, It was not for deposing of Kings but Tyrants which alters the case.

In *France* 1614. a Book written by *Suarez* against the *Oaths*, in which the deposing power was asserted, was by Decree of the Parliament of *Paris* condemned to be burnt by the publick Executioner, as containing *scandalous*, seditious positions, *&c.* and *Armandus*, *Cotton*, *Front* and *Symond* four chief Jesuits, were to take order their General should renew a prohibition to teach like Doctrines

ſtrines, and the whole Order after diſavowed them.

Eight Univerſities, *viz.* *Paris*, *Valentia*, *Tholouſe*, *Poictiers*, *Burdeaux*, *Burges*, *Reims* and *Caen*, did of their own accord (not expecting a command from the Court) 1626. brand this Doctrine of Pope's depoſing power with titles of impious, *ſeditious*, infamous, *&c.* And *Foſſart* of the Society in a publick Act advancing the propoſition, although it was interpreted to extend only to Tyrants; by decree of the whole Univerſity of *Caen*, the Propoſition and Expoſitions were cenſured impious and condemned, *Foſſart* impriſoned and ſentenced, bareheaded to acknowledg the ſaid *poſitions* falſe and contrary to the decrees of Councils, *&c.*

But to ſilence all impertinent objections in this nature, or in any other matter, they *declare* to the whole world, that no private authors (but only the *Deciſions* of lawful general Councils) have any influence upon their Faith or Doctrin in any point whatſoever. Therefore if their adverſaries will conclude any thing againſt them from their own Principles; they

they must do it from their own proper uncontradicted confession, or from the Decrees of General Councils, from which they only take the Rule of their Faith.

The Project of the *Gunpowder Treason*, undertaken only by a few male-contents; in justice might rather be burned in *oblivion* with the offenders, than objected perpetually to innocent men, who abhor the fact; and were publickly acquitted thereof, by the King himself in the Parliament following. See the Kings Speeches.

That the Catholick Body had no hand in this Treason, appears by the quality of the actors, and number of them, being but four Gentlemen. The Catholick Noblemen then were the most considerable of the Nation; their first Marques *viz. Wincheſter:* The first Earl, *viz. Arundel:* Their first Vicount, *viz. Mountague:* Their first Baron, *viz. Abergaveny, &c.* Now none of these or any chief of the party had any intrigue in the design, though all imaginable industry was used by the Commons, Lords,

Lords, and Privy Council, and by *Cecil* their plotting enemy to bring them in.

Therefore to call this an *univerſal Popiſh* plot is in it ſelf a contradiction, becauſe no plot can be looked on as geneneral when no number of the chiefeſt part are intrigued in the deſign. If then ſome four neceſſitous or looſe perſons have been of the Gun-powder Treaſon, to infer thence all other of the ſame profeſſion are of the ſame ſtamp: Do not all rational men ſee this inference is irrational? That it may be retorted againſt any other profeſſion in *England* in other things? Is it not unreaſonable and uncharitable to infer from thence an imputation upon all others? Can any one in his right ſenſes accuſe the whole Church of *England*, for inceſtuous, or drunkards, becauſe ſome of them have been guilty of thoſe crimes?

Stow Chron. p. 882. noteth by many *factious* people, it was given out, this Treaſon was attempted by conſent of the King of *Spain*, *French* King and Archduke. *Catesby*, at his Death, ſaid, the plot and practice of this Treaſon was only his, and that others were

but

but his assistants, saith *Stow*. And the Council perceived it was practiced by some discontented Papist, *Stow* 879. ---many untruths were divulged ---hoping to have drawn into their rebellion those of their Religion, and other malecontents.

In all their examinations none else were discovered though they revealed several secret *particulars*, as is seen in their printed confessions ---they would not have spared others, seeing they accused their Confessour.

Garnet, saith *Stow*, Provincial of the Jesuits, for concealing it in confession only, was executed. ---Acknowledged to God his offence, was heartily sorry, asked God and the King forgiveness, and beseeched God to bless the King and his issue: exhorted all Catholicks not to attempt any Rebellion or Treason, *&c.* for all such courses, said he, are utterly against Catholick *Faith* and Religion. *Vide Stow.*

To find out the depth of the plot they left no stone unrolled, to shew how nice they were. *Sturton* and *Mordent*

Mordent, two Catholick Lords, were fined becauſe they were abſent from Parliament that day: their circumſpection was ſo great, that the Lord of *Northumberland*, a Proteſtant, was impriſoned for many years, becauſe, being Captain, he admitted *Piercy* into the Bond of Penſioners. Thus any indifferent Reader may ſee how improbable or rather impoſſible it was the Catholick *party* to be involved therein.

Concerning Plots we know it was counted a piece of wit in Queen *Elizabeths* time to draw men into ſuch *devices*; and none more excellent than *Burleigh* and *Walſingham*: the firſt of which *Cecil* was ſon to, and ſucceſſor to the others *ſecretariſhip*, and fomenting of plots then in faſhion. Who hath forgot the plots of *Cromwel* framed in his Cloſet, not only to deſtroy many faithful Cavaliers, but alſo to put a luſtre upon his intelligence.

This Gun-powder Treaſon was a meer device (though acted by the hand of ſome deſperate perſons) as King *James* ſaith in his ſecond Proclamation. (*whereas Thomas Piercy & ſome other conſederates being of lewd life, inſolent diſpoſitions, and for the moſt*

most part of desperate Estates, &c.) Yet contrived & invented by a crafty Statesman, who every one knew hated their profession (to make them odious & suspected in that Nation, and to disoblige his Majesty of his promises in favour of them) and this his jealousie increased, seeing the King received in his Council *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, an eminent Papist, and no friend to the Statesmen. And his Majesties speech then to the two Houses against persecution of Catholicks, as *Wilson* noteth, as it may be justly thought, considering what Polititian sate at the helm then. Nor was it hard for a Secretary to know turbulent and malitious Spirits, as *Stow* calleth *Catesby* a malecontent in Queen *Elizabeth's* days; and when King *James* came to the Crown, no favourable Article concerning Indulgency to English Catholicks. And that the King of *Spain* and Archduke minded only their own interest, *&c. Vide Stow* 880.

Wil. Hist. in King James, p. 3. p. 190.

'Tis argument enough to assert this, that if a Statesman professed in tricks, hating and envying Roman Catholicks, contrived the material part, contrived also the

the reſt: and certainly the miraculous letter which diſcovered the Gun-powder Treaſon, will diſcover our Stateſmen to be the author of it. The Letter is this to the Lord *Mounteagle* a Roman Catholick.

MY LORD,

OUt of the Love I bear ſome of your Friends, I have care of your preſervation; *therefore I would wiſh you (as you tender your life) to forbear the attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of the time. Think not ſleightly of the* advertiſement; *for though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This Counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter, and, I hope, you will make good uſe of it.* Now

Now this Letter could not be written by *Piercy*, as reputed; becauſe firſt, there was little intimacy between the Lord *Mounteagle* and *Piercy*, as *Wilſon* ſaith. Secondly, the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Percy*'s Patron and only ſupport; he was to be ſacrificed, and all Catholick Lords of his Religion: therefore no Plotter writ this; for here a hundred ſuſpicious things, in the opinion of any fool, would endanger the diſcovery. Thirdly, Notice alſo given ſo long before the execution; for the Letter was ſent to *Mounteagle* ten days before the 5. of *November*, as *Saunderſon p.* 383. Hiſt. ſaith, the long warning being oppoſite to the deſigne of a Conſpirator. Fourthly, in their examinations they never confeſſed it, as they did things of higher *ſecrecy*.

Now the interval was beneficial to a *Machivilian*, it would be more grateful to the Council, to have time to conſider the difficulties, to ruine his enemies and make his vigilance appear. And *Cecil* did not miſs of his aim; for, as *Saunderſon* ſays, he was made Earl for his Service. For the Letter came by his contrivance, being

being, as *Osborn. Prot. Hiſt.* confeſſeth, *a neat device of the Treaſurers.* Nor was he ignorant from time to time of their actions, *Osborne Mem. K. Jam. p.* 360. For *Treſham* and another, who were *Cecil's* inſtruments, had acceſs to him at midnight, and laſt he ſhould diſcover it he was never brought to a publick trial, were ſent to the Tower, and never ſeen afterward, leſt they ſhould tell tales. And *Piercy* and *Catesby* might have been taken alive, but *Cecil* feared theſe two would have related the Story leſs to his advantage. Whence they were not made Priſoners, though they had no weapons but their Swords.

Beſides many knowing men, Strangers abroad have writ; And Proteſtants themſelves at home have diſcovered ſince, this to be a purpoſed contrivance: So *Oſſate Letters Livr.* 2. *Epiſt.* 43. *Prins Antip. of Prelat. p.* 151. His Majeſty alſo well knew ſome had learned this art in their old Miſtreſs's time. Whence he oft ſaid, the fifth of *November* was *Cecils* holiday; as the Lord *Cobham* and others have proteſted to have heard from his own mouth. Therefore the Roman party had no

hand in the Treaſon, being but thirteen Laymen, and all thoſe drawn in by their mortal enemy.

This deſperate attempt ſeemed rather of a private Kindred, or Acquaintance, than of any Religion. *Catesby* and *Treſham* were Siſters Children, the two *Graunts* two Brethren; and the elder intermarried with *Winters* Siſter; *Faux* and *Keys* were but Servingmen; the two *Wrights* long time dependers on *Catesby*, and their Siſter married to *Piercy*.

If any of theſe were Papiſts, or ſo died, they were not ſo long before; for the true Prieſts and Catholicks in *England* knew them not to be ſuch; they being never *frequenters* of Catholick Sacraments; and none of them convicted and known recuſants before; as our Courts witneſs. Papiſts and Prieſts know Catholicks, by uſing Sacraments. Theſe they renounced by publick Writings, and condemned their Enterpriſe for impious malefactors of this helliſh Conſpiracy. The Lord *Mounteagle* with his Lady and Children who diſcloſed it, indeed were known Catholicks.

No

No Prieſt or known Catholick, after many ſtrict *examinations*, *ſearches* and *ſcrutinies*, was either proved or probably ſuſpected of it: but ſo far freed that the Lords of the Council requeſted, that a Prieſt ſhould be appointed to perſwade and aſſure *Faux* (an agent in it) that he was bound in conſcience to utter what he could of that Conſpiracy. And Maſter *Thomas Wright*, a learned Prieſt did hereupon come to the Council and offer his beſt Service therein, and had a Warrant to that purpoſe ſubſigned with twelve Privy Counſellors hands: but *Faux* had confeſſed all they could wiſh, before he could come to him.

So that no man of Conſcience can think but Recuſants rather deſerved favour for their loyalty. Seeing the Arch-Prieſt condemned it, all Catholicks deteſted and abhorred it, as appears by their Petitions to the King, Parliament, and chief Secretary, printed at that time; and neither could any noted or known Catholick, by any device, be drawn into this matter.

Thoſe that were up in tumult with *Catesby* were, by our *Prot. Hiſt. Howes*,

never full fourſcore; and thoſe made up with ſervants, horſe-boys and houſhould-attendance, as *Saunders* and *Speed* confirm. For if Prieſts and Recuſants, ſo many thouſands then in *England*, would have entertained it; no man can be ſo malitious and ſimple, to think that there would not have been a greater aſſembly to take ſuch an action in hand; and the Council could not have been ſo ill-ſighted, but that they would have found ſome other *culpable*; as ſome by all imaginable craft and induſtry endeavoured and deſired.

But to confirm their innocency, King *James* in his own Declaration ſaith, that *the generality of Catholicks did abhor ſuch a deteſtable Conſpiracy no leſs than himſelf.* And he was ſo kind to Catholicks, the laſt half of his Reign, of which *Wilſon* complains in ſeveral places, which was impoſſible he ſhould have been ſo favourable, had he not been convinced they never had had any deſign of deſtroying him or his.

Wilſ. K. *of* 193.

Secondly, the King in his ſecond Proclamation 1605. and in his third Proclamation

mation 1605. when they were all diſcovered; in which Proclamation we plainly ſee the King and Council knew the Complices and partakers of that villanie, yet never taxed any Prieſt or Papiſt therewith.

Thirdly, the King in publick Parliament did free Catholiks as much as Proteſtants, when he plainly ſaith (as truth is) *if it had taken effect, Proteſtants and Papiſts ſhould have all gone away and periſhed together.* The King in his ſecond Proclamation againſt the Conſpiracy calleth the Confederates Men of lewd life, inſolent diſpoſitions and of deſperate eſtates.

And to demonſtrate from the publick Act their innocency as well Proteſtants, he declares by Proclamation, *Proclamatione die 7. Novemb.* 1605. 'We are by 'good *experience* ſo well perſwaded of 'the loyalty of diverſe Subjects of the 'Romiſh Religion, that they do as much 'abhor this deteſtable conſpiracy as our 'ſelf, and will be ready to do their beſt 'endeavours, though with expence of 'their blood to ſuppreſs all attempters 'againſt our ſafety and the quiet of our

c State; and discover whomsoever they c shall suspect to be rebellious. This by *good experience* he pronounceth.

Priests and *Catholicks* notwithstanding were upon this pretence persecuted; though besides all these reasons aforesaid, by publick consent both of their Clergy and Layety, Catholicks presented and offered to maintain their cause and innocency in many humble Petitions, whereof two were printed to the King. The first begins

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To the most excellent and mighty Prince, our gracious and dread Soveraign *James*, King of *England*, *&c.* justifying of Catholicks, and the Truth of their Religion against their Adversaries.

Most Gracious Soveraign,

THe *late intended Conspiracy against the Life of your Royal Majesty, the Life, Union, Rule and Direction to these united*

united Kingdoms, was ſo heinous an impiety that nothing which is holy can make it legitimate, no pretence of Religion can be alleadged to excuſe it: God in heaven condemns it, men on earth deteſt it, innocents bewail it, and your dutiful Subjects, Catholicks, Prieſts and others, which have endured moſt for their Profeſſion hold it in greateſt deteſtation and horror, &c.

Tet this is the miſerable diſtreſſed ſtate of many thouſands of your moſt loyal and loving Subjects (dread Leige) for their faithful duty to God and Religion, taught in this Kingdom, and embraced by all your Progenitours and our Anceſtors, ſo many hundred years, that every adverſary may preach and print againſt us, and make their challenge, as though either for ignorance we could not, or for diſtruſt of our cauſe, we were not willing to make them anſwer, or come to trial: when quite contrary, we have often earneſtly, and by all means we could, deſired to have it granted, &c.

And at this time when your chief Proteſtant Clergy, Biſhops and others is aſſembled, we moſt humbly entreat this ſo reaſonable a placet, *that although they will*

not (as we fear) ever consent to an indifferent choice, opposition and defence in questions: yet at least to avoid the wonder of the world, they will be content, we may have publick audience of those Articles, Opinions ond Practises, for which we are so much condemned and persecuted. If we shall not be able to defend or prove any position generally maintained in our Doctrine, to be conformable to those rules in Divinity, which your Majesty and the Protestant Laws of England (we can offer no more) have confirmed for holy Canonical Scripture; the first four General Councils, the days of Constantine and the primitive Church: let the penalties be imposed and executed against us, &c. & in fine--

Your Royal person and that honourable Consistory now assembled are holden in your Doctrine to be Supream Sentencers even in Spiritual businesses in this Kingdome: we therefore hope you will not in a Court from whence no appeal is allowed, and in matters of such consequence, proceed to Judgment or determine of execution, before the arraigned is summoned to answer, hath received or refused

trial

trial, is or can be proved guilty, &c.

Deny not that to us (your true and obedient Subjects) in a Religion ſo ancient, which your colleagued Princes the King of Spain *and Archduke do offer to thee ſo many years diſobedient Netherlands, upon their temporal ſubmittance in ſo late an embraced doctrine; That which the Arrian Emperors of the Eaſt permitted to the Catholick Biſhops, Prieſts, Churches, toleration: What the Barbarian Vandals often offered and ſometimes truly perforformed in* Africk; *what the Turkiſh Emperour in* Greece, *and Proteſtant Princes in* Germany, *and other places conformable to the example of Proteſtant Rulers, not unanſwerable to your own Princely piety, pity and promiſe---no diſguſt to any equally minded Proteſtant or Puritan at home, a Jubilee to us diſtreſſed, a warrant of ſecurity to your Majeſty in all opinions from all terrors and dangers ---from which of what kind ſoever we moſt humbly beſeech the infinite mercy of almighty God to preſerve your Highneſs, and ſend you, your children and Poſterity, all happineſs and felicity both in Heaven and Earth.* Amen.

Another

Another Petition to the King and Parliament from the Cath. in *Eng.* allowed by the Priests, was presented by Sir *Franc. Hastins* and Sir *Richard Knightly*, which urged likewise for a Disputation.

Another to the same tenure was then, with the same assent, subscribed with three and twenty hands of the greatest Catholick Gentry of *England*; and presented to the chief Secretary of State, potent in those times, in Court and Council, and (as Recusants feared) not equally affected towards them, though never so innocent. And the same Recusants were more than jealous, that this practice of Conspiracy was no great secret to that Secretary, long before divers of them, that were actors in it (by him named Catholicks) were acquainted with it: an invention to entrap those he did not affect. Whence Master *Howes* in his Hist. makes relation, --- A great Protestant had more, or not much inferiour knowledg of it, than some that were put to death for concealing it.

Thus the crimes of a few miserable wretches, necessitous and loose persons, are perpetually objected to the innocent, and

and made their guilt (though by none more deteſted than themſelves;) but how unreaſonable and how great a ſoleciſm it is in Chriſtianity, to conclude all guilty of every horrid crime, which ſome few are known to have perpetrated? none but injudicious *furies*, and ſuch as, in ſome meaſure, may deſerve to be ranged in the categories of fools or mad-men, but muſt needs acknowledg. And unleſs we will renounce all charity, juſtice and humanity, we muſt not impute particular mens actions (either of this or other matters) to Catholick Religion, and for their faults expoſe them to common hatred and violence. For in common ſenſe, if Catholicks refuſe to go to Church in reſpect of Conſcience, they will far more refuſe Treaſon, to attempt or conſent to any deſperate act againſt our Countrey or State, or commit ſuch ſins as hazard both body and ſoul.

O but bloody Queen *Mary!* O what cries againſt the days of Queen *Mary!* as if her cruelty were unparallell'd? when it plainly appears, to any impartial inquirer, that more Catholicks have died by

by Protestants, than of them by Papists; and that since the exclusion of the Pope, there hath been a greater quantity of blood judicially spilt among us, on the score of Religion, than from the Conversion of *England* to *Hen.* 8. Why do we then cry out, like men in the fit of fury, of the bloody Papists? Its suspition some radicated hatred obfuscates our intellect; as the Poet saith,

Impedit ira animum, nec potest cernere verum.

Queen *Mary* put none to death, but by the known Laws established many hundred years before the malefactors were born, and which are still used to this day by Protestants against Hereticks. None were then put to death, but by virtue of antient Laws of Christian Emperours, and Kings of *England*: therefore not the Queen, nor Bishops, but the Law was cruel: yet the said Laws are still in force, still continue, and were made use of since the Reformation, by *Elizabeth* and King *James*, to burn Hereticks in their time; as *Stow* and *Baker* note. Why did King *James* put *Legat* and *Wightman* to death, but because he religiously thought it unfit

ſit they ſhould live any longer to blaſpheme? why did Queen *Elizabeth* 1587. hang *Coppinger* and *Thacker* at Saint *Edmundsbury*, for publiſhing *Brown*'s Book, ſaith *Cambden*, which, ſaith *Stow p.* 1174. was written againſt the Common Prayer.

I will not apologize for any extravagancies done by our predeceſſors in the beginning of Reformation. He that will judg, let him lay his hand on his own breaſt, and examine what he would do in this condition. Suppoſe he were of a Religion he thought the whole viſible Church from age to age delivered to his anceſtors, and ſaw Profeſs'd in all Kingdoms; Suppoſe then the preaching of two or three men, baſe in rank, and taxt in moralities, broaching forth new and dangerous opinions to Church and State obſtinately, and would not be ſilenced by any ſatisfactory means, would he think it then cruelty to put Laws in execution againſt ſuch novelties? the conſequences whereof proved ſeditious and rebellious, as is ſeen in Hiſtory.

There died of the Reformiſts in the the whole but two hundred ſeventy ſeven;

as

as *Baker* in Queen *Mary p.* 467. and *Speed* in Queen *Mary p.* 833. and other Proteſtant Writers record: And were there two hundred of thoſe now living, they would ſuffer for extravagancies and perpetrated villanies; as moſt of thoſe did in the voluminous Legend of *Fox*, ſtuffed with *Wicliffians* and *Waldenſes* (whom *Philip Melancton* and other Proteſtants diſown,) with Tinkers, Coblers, Butchers, Taylors and prating Wives, very few of them put to death on the ſcore of Religion, as the Records teſtifie.

Cranmer and *Ridley* ſo much ſpoken of were attainted of Treaſon defending the Title to the Lady *Jane*. *Cranmer* being a Counſellor in the buſineſs, and *Ridley* Biſhop of *London* preaching a Sermon for it at St. *Paul's* Croſs the Sunday after King *Edward* died. So *Cranmer* was condemned of Treaſon and arraigned with the Lady *Jane*. He was alſo an Inſtrument of divorce to bring *Anna Bullein* to the Kings appetite; and afterward, he and *Cromwel* the chief actors for her death, as *p.* 3. *Statut.* 28. *Hen.* 8. *c.* 1. where *Cranmers* Sentence is recorded judicially, as of his own knowledg;

con-

convincing her of the foul fact. Or if there were ſome at that time put to death (for their conſcience only, which can hardly be proved, and that there was no faction, exteriour diſobedience or innovation in the caſe,) yet they could not be properly Proteſtant Martyrs; becauſe they ſuffered before the thirty nine Articles or Church of *England* was eſtabliſhed.

Reformed Hiſtorians, *viz.* Biſhop *Goodman*, *Baker*, *Speed*, *&c.* do agree Queen *Mary* was a marvellous good Woman, had many troubles; *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, with a thouſand more, ſet up as buſie as Bees againſt her: when ſhe was to be inveſted in her Rights, Reformiſts would not receive her as their Queen, but upon condition (as *Suffolke* people) nor aſſiſt her without Indentures, *Stow annal. p.* 1064. nor acknowledg her but upon ſuch and ſuch terms, yet her Right was indubitable. How Wars were waged againſt her by the Dukes of *Northumberland* and *Suffolke*, Bills ſpread abroad, and ſeveral treacherous practices contrived againſt her and her Dignity, by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, ſee *Stow Annal.* printed

1592.

1592. *p.* 1039, 1042, *&c.* What great commotions and insurrections were made against her by *Wiat*, on the score of Religion? How Towns and Castles were taken and held out against her by *Stafford*? *p.* 1047. *ibid.* How Daggers were thrown and Guns shot off at Priests of her Religion, whiles they were preaching at *Pauls Cross*, *viz.* Doctor *Pendleton* and Master *Bourne*. How many treasonable Books writ against her after she came to the Crown by *Goodman*; insomuch, that more open rebellion and insurrection was in five years of her short Government, from such as were not affected to her Religion, than Queen *Elizabeth* had from Catholicks in forty years. *vide Stow* 1039, 1058.

How plain and sincere her Government was, how free from tricks, and such strains of Policy as were afterward used; is manifest to all the world; How just was she? if severe for a time, that severity was necessary, not only by the judgment of Parliament, which a little before had enacted the Laws on which she proceeded, and before which she acted nothing in that kind, but also in respect of her own

safety

ſafety and of the State. And to vindicate their Clergy, let all the Canons of the Church be examined and ſearched, if there be one to be found that juſtifies the ſhedding of blood ſimply on the account of Religion.

That She was withal a merciful Princeſs, is evidenc'd by the compaſſion ſhew'd to ſuch as deſerved not well of her, as the Dutcheſs of *Sommerſet*, to Sir *John Cheeke*, to Sir *Edward Mountague*, Lord chief Juſtice, who had ſubſcribed and counſelled her diſinheriting, to Sir *Roger Cholmey*, to the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, to the Lord *Robert Dudley*, to Sir *Henry Dudley*, to Sir *Henry Gates*, *&c.* who ſtood attainted, and the Duke of *Suffolke*, all obnoxious to her Juſtice, ſhe knew very well, neither affected her Religion nor Title: they being her priſoners in the Tower, ſhe releaſed them all.

But for all this the Zealots of her time would not be quieted; they libel againſt the Government of Women; they pick quarrels and murmur at her Marriage: they publiſh invectives and ſcurrilous Pamphlets againſt Religion: yet forbear not to plot and conſpire her deprivation.

Goodman writ a pernitious Book to have her put to death: *William Thomas*, a Goſpeller, conſpires to kill the Queen, and when hanged ſaid, he died for his Country. *Stow* in Queen *Mary* p. 1056.

Out of Fox his Martyrs.

On the contrary, in Queen *Elizabeths* time, although Catholicks then were the chief Miniſters in Church and State, and might have uſed indirect means againſt her, ſhe being of a contrary Religion, and not of ſo clear a Title: yet Catholick Biſhops who ſet the Crown upon her head are commended by *Holinſhed*, a Prot. Hiſt. *ann. Eliz. 26. pag.* 1358, & 1360. for peaceable quiet Biſhops, and the Catholick temporal Lords there by him recorded to be far from oppoſing themſelves againſt her intereſt, as they are ſaid there to offer her Majeſty in her defence to impugne and reſiſt any forreign force, though it ſhould come from the Pope himſelf. Inſomuch, that they are commended by *Holinſhed* for loyalty and obedience. And,

Stow teſtifies how diligent Catholicks were

were to offer their ſervice in that great action 88. neither were they altogether refuſed by her Majeſty. How the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Chancellour of *England*, Doctor *Heath*, a Catholick Biſhop, inſtead of inveighing againſt her, or caſting forth of Libels, (as *Cranmer* did againſt Q. *Mary* her entrance and Government) made a publick oration in her behalf, to perſwade the people to obedience, and to acknowledg her power and authority, *Holin. ib.* 1170. whence the ſaid Archbiſhops faithfulneſs was left to commendation alſo by Proteſtant Biſhop *Goodman* in his Catalogue of Biſhops. How all Catholick Lords and Biſhops repaired to *London* to proclaim her Queen, who not long after turned them out of ſeveral Offices and Biſhopricks; *Holinſhed p.* 1171.

To uſe *Cambdens* own words and phraſe, *Cambdens Britann. p.* 163. ‘the *world ſtood* ‘*amazed* and *England groaned* ‘*at it*; what would fleſh and ‘blood move him to? was it ‘not ſtrange in the beginning to behold ‘Abbies deſtroyed, Biſhopricks gelded, ‘Chaunteries, Hoſpitals, Colledges tur-

'ned to profaneness? change of Liturgies, 'Rites, *&c.*? to see people renounce their pious vows? --- such unexpected alterations --- it being a pitiful thing, as *Stow* saith, to hear the *Lamentations* in the Country for religious Houses, *Stow p.* 964.

Notwithstanding the loyalty and obedience of Catholicks towards her appeared undeniable in all things, not only in their humble petitions, but by their constant and general conformity unto her temporal Government in 88. and by their Protestations made at *Ely* 1588. as by other offers made to the Lord *North*, the Queens Lieutenant there, and by their just actions afterwards, by their submission as to the Lords of the Privy Council, and profession of all due acknowledgment to her Majesty, notwithstanding the Sentence of Excommunication. Whence the Author of *Execution of English Justice* acknowledges 'their obedience and 'loyalty to *Elizabeth*, in a time when 'they wanted no matter of complaint.

Any man of candour and integrity may easily convince the vulgar error, the unevenness of Queen *Elizabeths* nature and severity

ſeverity to that of Queen *Marys*. Queen *Elizabeth* made new Laws againſt Catholicks, and put them to death for not embracing a new hereſie, which has been condemned to the fire here, and in all other Chriſtian Countries. She embrued her hands in the blood royal of *Mary Stewart*, lawful Heir to the Crown, put to death many noble perſons by their blood, to colour her Supremacy, raiſed up upſtarts, Hereticks from nothing, annihilated the antient Nobility and Gentry, *&c.* to uſe a Proteſt. Hiſtoriographers words, ‘the bloody practices of Queen *Eliz.* if not ‘ſo barbarous in appearance (though more ‘wicked in ſubſtance) as being exhibited ‘under the colour and pretext of Law, in ‘the ſtarving and racking ſo many innocent, worthy, learned perſons, tearing ‘out their hearts and bowels in publick ‘view, upon ſuborned witneſſes, baſe vagabond and perjured Catchpoles hired ‘to ſwear.

Neither was there any reaſon then for perſecution on the account of the Catholicks miſdemeanours. For as *Cambden*, her own Hiſtoriographer, noteth: ‘The reaſon of the penal Statutes in *Eliz.*

'was 1. the opinion of the Queens Ille-
'gitimation abroad: 2. Jealousies had of
'the Queen of Scots her nearness to the
'Crown: 3. the Bull of *Pius* 5. 4. the
'doubt of the house of *Guise* in behalf of
'their Neece. 5. the offence given to the
'King of *Spain* in assisting *Orange*. These
'causes induced the Queen with her *Pan-
'culi intimi*, saith *Cambden*.

We cannot excuse the persecution therefore under Queen *Elizabeth* against Catholicks, for any cause given by them, or just fear of their fidelity, nor from the example of Christian Emperours and Kings, that both for zeal of Religion and human policy (to avoid danger of Rebellion) made Laws and Statutes against Hereticks and innovators of the antient faith and sense of Scripture, which descended to them by Tradition from the Apostles. Queen *Elizabeth*, taking a contrary way, made Laws and Statutes against the ancient Religion, and known sense of Gods word delivered from age to age: which practice destroys the order of Justice, to persecute Christians for professing a Religion confirmed by the publick testimony and practice of the Christian

ſtian world, from the firſt propa ation of Chriſtianity to this preſent time. No part of their Doctrine being ever judged an hereſie or novelty by antiquity: otherwiſe they had not eſcaped the rigour of penal Laws made againſt Hereticks and Noveliſts in former ages. But no Hiſtory did or can ever mention any perſon that ſuffered as an Heretick, for broaching or maintaining any one point which they now believe and profeſs.

Whereas Q. *Mary* her predeceſſors, Emperours and Kings puniſhed Noveliſts only, that made Religons of their own heads, condemned as Hereticks by the Church in ancient times. The diſparity therefore was great: Catholick Princes ſtanding as defenders of their ancient Faith, others as invaders and introducers of a new Belief. They ſeek to keep what *de jure* they had, Calviniſts what they had not: they poſſeſſors of the *traditum* and *depoſitum* left by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; others deſciſſors and injurious infringers of thoſe Apoſtolick tyes and regulations ſo carefully delivered to all poſterity.

Laws indeed have been made in Catholick Countries, very ſevere againſt

those the Church calleth Hereticks, but they were none of the Churches Laws, (nor made by the principles of Catholick Doctrine.) The *Arrians* were the first introducers of persecution; they were not, I say, enacted by Ecclesiasticks, but by civil Governours only. We know, that by the Canons of the Church ever in force, their Clergy, under the penalty of irregularity, are forbidden to have any hand in blood. And whatsoever civil Laws have been made, by Catholick civil Governours, were but as prudent means to prevent Sedition or Rebellions justly apprehended. And though for some later ages civil Magistrates, in some Countries, exercise greater severities than anciently were used; must *England* imitate the rigidest of other Countries?

Neither can our hatred or persecution against Catholicks be any more excused, by the proceedings of the *Spanish* or *Italian* Inquisitions, than our penal Statutes have been by the Laws of ancient Kings and Emperours against Hereticks.

First, Because the Inquisition proceeds according to the rules and forms of justice; none is declared an Heretick or guilty

guilty by any new Law or Oath, made only to the end, that by them men may be entrapped both in Soul, in Body and Eſtate. It was no crime in *England* to be a Roman Catholick before the penal Laws were enacted: but it was a crime to be an Heretick or an Apoſtate, or broacher of new Doctrines, before the ancient Emperors and Kings made penal Laws againſt Hereſie. The Law ſuppoſed and did not make the crime. As penal Statutes do in *England*, making a crime of Chriſtian Religion.

Secondly, Hereticks are never condemned by the Inquiſition, without the teſtimony of many lawful witneſſes, both living and dead: All the ancient Fathers, Councils, and the Chriſtian Church of former ages teſtifie their errors are new and contrary to the Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. No Rebel was ever more evidently convicted of Rebellion againſt his Prince, then Hereticks are by the Inquiſition of Hereſie againſt God and the old Apoſtolical Church. Catholicks cannot obtain ſo fair a Plea, they are condemned by a new Law, becauſe they are not Hereticks, and ſeparate from the ancient Faith. Thirdly,

Thirdly, The Inquiſition practiceth all imaginary means towards the accuſed to reduce his judgment.

Fourthly, The Inquiſition it ſelf is permitted in no Kingdome where Hereſie is numerous: nor can it be in juſtice: they ſtrive to keep out Sects and new Opinions in Countries totally of one Belief. We do not morally blame the very Moors in *Africa* being of one profeſſion for keeping out the Goſpel it ſelf. In *England* where all fell not from the Papacy, there is not the ſame juſt motive for ſeverity, as if it brought an upſtart Religion, never heard of or ſpread over the Nation.

Fifthly, The Inquiſition medleth not with thoſe who never were Catholicks: but the penal Statutes comprehend them who never were of their Church or Communion.

Sixthly, The Inquiſition condemns no Hereticks to death, but only declares their hereſie to the end the faithful may avoid their converſation: its true the Secular power executes the ſentence of death againſt them, notwithſtanding the Inquiſition doth proteſt againſt the rigour, and deſireth that Hereticks may not be puniſhed with death. Seventhly,

Seventhly, Though the Inquiſition were rigorous and unjuſt (as adverſaries pretend) it is not a blemiſh to Catholick Religion, becauſe, it is not an univerſal practice but limited to *Spain* and *Italy* at the inſtance of ſecular Princes, looked upon as a neceſſary means to keep their Subjects in awe of their Soveraigns.

Eighthly, The Inquiſition doth ſeriouſly wiſh and endeavour the converſion and amendment of Hereticks, imploying learned Divines to convince them, and by fair ways and reaſon to win them.

Neither can the Muthers or Maſſacres in *Ireland* ſo much and ſo often exaggerated in Proteſtant Pamphlets and Pulpits be any pretext of rigour or auſterity to Engliſh Catholicks. What hath an Engliſh Catholick to do with an Iriſh Maſſacre? Can we our ſelves excuſe all the extravagancies by ſome of our natives and party? Doth Catholick Religion either incline him to or teach murther or rebellion? Have they not a ſetled ſenſe of Scripture for loyalty and obedience? Which none can alter without breach of his Catholick Faith? And they are not

their

their own interpreters and and judges in points controverted; that's the priviledge of others. I only say and wish from my soul that some indiscreet Zealots had not a greater hand in them than Catholick Religion, whose tenets are contrary to cruelty and murther on any pretence whatsoever.

Is it not notorious that the Reformed Zealots in *Ireland* signed a bloody Petition offered to the Parliament in *England*, that all Irish that would not go to Church might be extirpated or banished? This was done before the Irish Catholicks did stir.

Suppose that in *Ulster* some of the rascality or Kerns (being exasperated by so many and continual injuries, had murthered some persons, must that reflect upon the English Catholicks and all the Irish Nation? or what is the Irish Rebellion to English Catholicks who detest it) more than the *Amboyna* to Reformists? it is too much ascertained, that the Murthers and Massacres done in *Ireland* by Reformists furious zeal against Catholicks, exceeded those committed by Catholicks, witness their murthers about

bout *Dublin*: the County of *Wicko* and *Fingcole*, by the tranſplantation of them into *Canaught*, and by the tranſporting them into the Plantations of *America*, forcing them to the Oath of Abjuration, and almoſt ſtarving them in thoſe places, contrary to the Publick Faith given them by printed Declarations in the Name of the Engliſh Parliament to Iriſh Catholicks, *Anno* 1649. --1652. that the Oath of Abjuration ſhall not be adminiſtred to any in *Ireland*.

Baxter in his Cure of Church-Diviſion; confeſſeth and ſaith, 'they *put the Iriſh to* 'death that went to defend themſelves 'and ſtand for the King and Country--- 'yet they who ſeemed ſo godly themſelves Maſſacred millions of their own 'Country that were for the Country 'and King, and gave God many *humi-* 'liation days, and thanks for their ſuc- 'ceſs --killing after ſo many Scots in 'cold blood, after they were taken at '*Worceſter* Fight. See *Baxter*.

But whoſoever deſires to be better ſatisfied in this of *Ireland*, let him read the printed Remonſtrance of the Iriſh Confederate Catholicks delivered by their

their Commiſſioners the Lord Vicount *Preſton* and Sir *Robert Talbot* the ſeventeenth of *March* 1642. to his Majeſties Commiſſioners at *Trim*. There he will ſee how the Iriſh deſired the murthers on both ſides might be puniſhed: and how they were forced to take up arms by the wicked practices of Sir *William Perſons*, Sir *Charls Coot*, and other fiery Proteſtants who governed the Kingdom. Therefore whatſoever may be ſaid in paſſion of the Iriſh war, its evident that the *Calviniſtical* Zealot had great influence upon their injurious provocations, murthering ſeven or eight hundred women, children, Ploughmen, and labourers in a day in the Kings Land; whenſoever the Army went abroad, the poor Country-people did betake themſelves to the Firrs where the Parliament Officers did beſiege them, and ſet the Firrs on fire, and ſuch as eſcaped that element were killed by the Army. Theſe cruelties were ordinary not only neer *Dublin* but in all other parts of the Kingdome, where the Parliamentarians were. As may be read in divers Remonſtrances and Relations publiſhed in the beginning of the late troubles.

Maſſacre

Maſſacre in *France* ſo much objected alſo againſt Catholicks in general; The world knows was a Cabinet Plot condemned by Catholick Writers, there and in other Countries. Although it was evident in matter of fact, their powerful Rebellion drew them into that Machinated deſtruction; and the King was moved to it by Intereſt of State, and ſecurity to himſelf, not for Religion.

They fought many Battels with their Prince, fortified Towns againſt him. And *Coligni* their great Commander known to be a grand Rebell. They brought forreign Forces into *France* as *Rutyers* from *Germany*, and Engliſh from us. They delivered *Havra de grace* to Queen *Elizabeth*. Nay they began firſt to murther Catholicks in *Paris*: and alſo *Coligni* and *Beza* got *Poltrot* to murther the Duke of *Guiſe*, as *Davila l.* 3. Hiſt. who is thought by Proteſtants, an authentical and impartial Author. And *Poltrot* confeſſed ſo at his death for the Fact, ſo *Davila*. Moreover there were other motives that cauſed the King and Councils dipleaſure againſt theſe rebellious People. For

Baxter

Baxter in his Cure of Church-Divisions, *p.* 365. who is known to be no friend to Catholicks, confesseth in these words.

'Historians tells us, saith he, that 'when King *Francis* of *France* had for-'bid the reproaching of Papists way of 'worship, and silenced the Ministers for 'not obeying him: Many of of *hot-brain'd* people took up the way of 'provoking them by scornful Pictures 'and Libels, hanging up and down in 'Streets such ridiculous and reproachful 'Rhimes and Images: (but this which 'was none of the way of God) began 'that persecution, (by provoking the 'King) which cost many thousand lives 'before it ended (and the Protestant 'Synod at *Rochel* refused the Council of 'du *Plessis*, *du Moulin* and many others) 'was stirred up by the Peoples zeal, and 'ended in the blood of a thousand, 'and ruin, and power of the Protestants 'in *France*, See *Baxter*.

How false therefore and malitious it was to affirm that a Jubilee was kept for this Massacre, let the world be witness. When even *Thuanus* a malitious and partial

tial Writer as ever undertook Hiſtory, as Doctor *Heylin* confeſſeth) writ in ſpleen and Faction againſt Popes, firſt belched out this notorious Fable ---yet he himſelf confeſſeth, *p.* 1069. The Jubilee was to thank God for the victory at *Lepanto*, for the Election of a Catholick King of *Poland*, *&c.*

Another Calumny and not long ſince ſpread abroad by many ignorant and illiterate people, and imprudently reaſſumed by Doctor *Stilling. Tillot. &c.* that many Quakers, and Tub-Preachers among the Sectaries were diſguiſed Jeſuits, Friars, *&c.* or had their Fanatick principles from them.

This weak, childiſh (if not malignant ſlander) is refuted, and known to be a manifeſt untruth by all underſtanding men. Since ſuch wicked diſſimulation is clearly againſt the principles of their Religion, damnable in it ſelf, and by no power on earth (upon whatſoever pretence) diſpenſable.

Secondly, It is known falſe by the Sectaries themſelves, who are always well acquainted with their Preachers,

Education, former Profeſſion, Trade, Family, *&c.*

Thirdly, Thoſe diſguiſed Preachers, after ſo many years could never be detected by themſelves, or any others, or brought to trial. 'Tis yet uncertain whether this charge doth proceed from impotent malice or deſperate impudence. This Impoſture is now ſo tranſparent that the meaneſt capacity now begins to ſee through it, and diſcover the Leger-demain therein.

I ask was there ever any ſuch thing duly proved? was there ever any ſuch *Prieſt* or *Jeſuit* taken under ſuch *diſguiſe*? let any man of *honour* or conſcience, mark the proceedings of theſe men; I mean the Authors and *ſpreaders* of ſuch reports and ſtories. They are challenged to make diſcovery; to proſecute the buſineſs. The *Papiſts* diſclaim the *imputation* as a moſt injurious *ſlander* ſuggeſted againſt them meerly by the malice of their enemies. Inſomuch that I dare confidently aſſure my ſelf; that if an *Oath* were tendered to all the Papiſts in the *Nation*; they would willingly ſwear; that neither they themſelves, nor

nor ever any they knew, did ever uſe any ſuch practices; or ever thought them lawful.

What man in his right ſenſes, can believe ſuch groſs calumnies? ſo groundleſs, ſo full of contradictions? inſipid accuſations which ſeem to choak reaſon. If theſe and the like can be thought to deſerve credit; ere it be long no mans *innocence* will be able to protect him againſt *ſuſpition* and *ſlander*. But who is acquainted with antiquity will find their accuſers in ſuch points to imitate the old Heathens; who imputed the *unlucky miſchievous* accidents that happen'd amongſt themſelves, to the primitive Chriſtians.

We have ſeen of late (to the regret of all moderate and judicious men) how ſome unquiet and uncharitable Spirits by falſe inſinuations, have abuſed the Nation into moſt antichriſtian thoughts, ſuſpitions and jealouſies, of the greateſt, moſt prudent and peaceable Society of Chriſtianity.

Never did *Jacob Behmen*, *Stifelet* or any of their Fraternity, write more malitious ſelf-contradictions, or that had

more inference of confuſion and diſorder then a late calumniating *Polypragmus*.

What candour, *morality*, or *juſtice*, or *charity* can there be in a perſon, for accuſing the whole Catholick Church *Weſtern* and *Eaſtern* for practice of Idolatry? which muſt unchurch this great Body and divorce this Adultreſs from Chriſt, it being a fundamental error. Can any think it agreeable to the gratious nature, deſign and office of Chriſt to caſt of and condemn, for ſo many ages the viſible Body of Chriſtianity? have not the *Egyptians*, *Æthiopians*, *Syrians*, *Armenians*, *Abyſſines* and *Greeks* almoſt all the ſame manner of worſhip in thoſe things we ſo much cenſure the *Roman*?

Is it not a groſs injuſtice that moſt mens Chriſtianity and Church-Rites ſhould be judged *null*, upon the *cenſures* and rumours of ſuſpitious men, without any juſt proof or trial? to traduce and defame almoſt all the whole world; to judge the *generality* of Chriſtians *viſible members* of the Devil? doth not this lacerate and defame all Religion; and make

make all Chriſtian Churches *lubricous* and uncertain *ſhadows*? that any ſuch man that is unconſcionable enough to ſay they are profane, idolatrous, *&c.* may unchurch at his pleaſure? and what you ſay of others, another may ſay of you, and as juſtly exſpect to be beleived.

You have great errors your ſelves *ex conceſſis*, ſhould you be made odious for them to *hearers*: you muſt all put up your pipes, and find your artifice would firſt ſilence your ſelves. What if any ſhould ſay of you, that you are, *anti-chriſtian, ſeditious, bloody-minded, ſuper-ſtitious, &c.* would you not think they ſhould every one perſonally appear before the accuſed; and proof brought againſt them: and that they ſhould ſpeak for themſelves before they are condemned? Seeing in this age men cenſure and perſecute moſt, where they are acquainted leaſt.

Can ſuch Champions hope for ſucceſs that go down into *Egypt* for help? cutting and *launcing* with lyes and falſities as with ſharp Razors? can ſuch weapons proſper as are ſharpened at the

forges of Philiſtines? is there no way to undermine Romaniſts, but by digging as low as Hell in ſlandering the footſteps, and traducing the perſons of our Progenitors? can that wiſdome come from above which repreſenteth the higheſt devotions practiced from antiquity as Fanaticiſm? that makes all ſupernatural favours, revelations, extaſies, *&c.* matter of drollery? to term S. *Francis*, S. *Dominick*, *&c. Enthuſiaſts?* whom *Tindal*, *Act. Mon.* 1338, *Panteleon*, *Luther* and the Centuriſts their very Adverſaries call holy and good men: and our very Almanacks theſe two hundred years have included in the Category of Saints?

The Doctor hath founded all the weight of his arguments upon falſe ſuppoſitions, groſly imagining any inferior relative honour given to Saints, Angels, *&c.* it is derogatory to the honour of God and perfect idolatry, imitating therein the craft of the Devil, who always covereth his malice with *pretext* of good: impugneth the ſame under colour and *pretence* to *defend* Gods honour, ſo the *Serpent* ſeduced *Eve.* So he boldly

ly chargeth them with giving *divine honour* to Images, *accidents* of bread and wine; and unto Saints, uſing the word *adoration*, or honour, for divine worſhip: this we muſt ſuppoſe otherwiſe his whole book and arguments doth not *touch* them, or any thing to the purpoſe, but *phaleræ ad populum.*

Who ever that pretends to the name of a *Chriſtian*, but confeſſes all religious divine worſhip is proper and due to God alone, and no created thing whatſoever is capable of it?

He ſhould have firſt proved his grounds ſolidly before he made his inferences upon them: And ſo his large chapter of Idolatry, might have ſeemed at leaſt to have been ſomewhat *ad rem*: whereas now it ſerveth to no other end but to diſcovery his folly and humour againſt Catholicks. Why doth he cavil ſo about words? all the ground of his diſputation is upon the *equivocation* of words. Can he be ignorant that the vulgar uſe have not words enough *properly* to ſignifie all our *notions* and *conceptions*?

The *terms*, *worſhip*, *prayer*, invocation,

bowing down, *adoration*, *&c.* for want of words are or may be *equivocal.* For worſhip or prayer directed to God imports a total dependance in him; and ſo our prayers, *&c.* are offered to God alone. As applied to juſt and holy men it implies only a communion in the members of the Church *militant*; or aſſiſtance of their prayers, to him who only can give what we ask. They pray not to Saints in the manner as they pray to God, but deſire their prayers, as we do the juſt men on earth to pray for us. How comes then the one to be *idolatry*, and the other a recommendable action?

The word *Adoration*, ſignifieth not only divine honour and worſhip, but alſo *religious* and *civil.* As may be proved out of the Scripture and Fathers. The Proteſtants themſelves grant the different kinds of worſhip and honour ſignified thereby.

Theſe three Adorations have many examples and teſtimonies in holy Writ, as the word *adoration* is to be underſtood diverſly: either to God alone, called *Latria*: or to Angels and Saints, holy men, as ſervants of God, and for love of

of him called *Dulia*. The third a civil worſhip to men of dignity for ſome *civil* or temporal excellency.

Theſe three kinds of *adoration*, &c. according to the different applications thereof, cannot be diſtinguiſhed in *reading*, but by circumſtances: And becauſe the corporeal *exhibition* of the ſame exterior acts of ſubmiſſion and *reverence* is common to all kinds of worſhip; thence they are diſtinguiſhed and diverſified only by the intention and will of him that doth perform them. Whence it is not to be wondred that, as the ancient Fathers; ſo Catholicks now following the cuſtome and phraſe of holy Scripture, do uſe alſo the word *adoration* in different manner and ſenſe.

The Doctor grants the *civil adoration*, though abſurdly he denies the Religious; Calling that civil worſhip which is teſtified in Scripture to have been done to Angels and holy men. Whence the adoration *Abraham*, *Lot*, and *Joſhua* did to Angels could be only *civil*. Which would be abſurd, becauſe there was not therein any *civil* or temporal reſpect, the motive of their *adoration* being

being a ſupernatural excelleney, including alſo a *ſanctity*, or holineſs; as appears by the example of *Joſhua*'s adoration of the Angel; who, beſides his falling proſtrate on the ground, was commanded to do more *reverence*; *viz.* to put off his ſhooes, becauſe the *place was holy*, *viz.* in reſpect of the Angels preſence.

The like is to be ſaid of the examples exhibited by *Abdias* to *Elias*, of the children of the Prophets to *Elizæus*; for although *Abdias* was in temporal dignity a greater man and more worthy than *Elias* the Prophet; yet he fell upon his face before *Elias* 3 *Kings* 18. acknowledging thereby the ſpiritual excellency of Gods Prophet, and did therein an *act religious*. So the children of the Prophets did the like to *Elizæus*, *adoraverunt eum proni in terram* 4 *Reg.* 2. ſpecifying a ſupernatural reſpect of his miraculous paſſage over the River, the motive of this adoration. Therefore it cannot be only *civil*.

This I thought good to note by the way, to ſhew by this occaſion the *piece* of *Legerdemain* in the Doctor, who denies that Angels might be adored in any ſenſe

ſenſe: yet it appears that *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Joſhua* adored Angels proſtrate, on the ground *Geneſ.* 18. 19. *Joſhua* 3. therefore there is ſome inferiour adoration, or we muſt charge the holy men with Idolatry. It cannot be called *civil* only, for the ſpiritual excellency of Angels, and ſanctity of the Prophets being ſupernatural, doth not import any temporal or civil conſideration, but a religious reſpect, becauſe it is exhibited to Angels and Saints as Servants of God, for the honour and love of him: ſo as the worſhip reſteth not in them, but hath a ſpicial relation to Almighty God, being yielded to them for his ſake; becauſe they are his Servants; and to the end to honour him in them, which muſt be a religious act. This honour being finally and principally to God, for whoſe ſake they are honoured in reſpect of the participation of the divine excellency and abundance of Grace given them; which is ſo far from diſhonouring, that we do him a ſpecial honour and ſervice therein; for ſeeing he ſaid to his Diſciples, *qui vos recipit me recipit*, *qui vos ſpernit me ſpernit*, he that receiveth you receiveth me, *&c.* ſo that the honour done

done to them redounds to the honour of God.

This being so and most manifest in our Doctrine and Practice: How impudent and unheard of a thing is it to make them idolaters? whereas their Books written of Worship and *Adoration &c.* and their Doctrine in Schools and Pulpits do proclaim unto the world, and their Consciences do witness it betwixt God and them, although they honour Saints and Angels; yet they hold and believe them to be creatures of God, and the honour they yield to them is not a *divine* honour, but such as may be given to a glorified creature, whom God will have to be honoured, according to the testimony of our Saviour, *John* 22. *quis mihi ministraverit, &c.* for God is honoured and glorified thereby.

Did Saint *Hierome*, when he wrote to *Marcella*, and invited her to adore the ashes of Saint *John Baptist*, *Elizæus* and *Abdias* commit flat idolatry? did not Saint *Ambrose*, Saint *Augustine* and other Fathers, yea the very Penners of Scripture apply *adorare* very often to the worship of creatures? Saint *Ambrose*, saith,

ſaith *Helen*, did wiſely to cauſe the nail of Chriſt's Croſs to be ſet in the Diadem of the Emperour *Conſtantine*, *ut crux Chriſti adoretur in regibus*: and Saint *Auguſtine* (as *Collins*, an eminent Proteſtant, confeſſeth) applied the word *adorare* to the Sacrament of Baptiſm and Circumciſion, ſaying to *Fauſtus* the *Manichean*, *Adoratur in geſtante.* Did not St. *Ambroſe* reverence and worſhip holy Reliques, the Bodies of Saint *Gervaſius* and *Protaſius*, *Nazarius* and *Celſus*, *Vitalis* and *Agricola*, found out by a revelation he had from God? and were by him tranſlated and honoured with pomp and ſolemnity, and approved by many Miracles, as St. *Aug.* witneſſeth in his Confeſſ. or Book *De civit. Dei*?

But this Doctor imitateth *Vigilantius* the Heretick, who charged Chriſtians of thoſe days with flat Idolatry, for *worſhipping* Reliques of Saints, calling them *Cinerarios*, kiſſing and adoring a little duſt carried in a little veſſel, taking adoration for worſhip due to God alone. Whence Saint *Hierome* anſwering him in the ſame ſenſe ſaith, *non adoramus martyrum*, *&c.* viz. with divine honour commit-

committing idolatry, as *Vigilantius* chargeth us: *ſed honoramus reliquias martyrum, ut eum cujus ſunt martyres adoremus & honoremus ſervos, &c.* we honour the Servants, to the end that their honour may redound to the honour of their Lord; who ſaith, *He that receiveth you receiveth me. Vigilantius* did not herein reprove the cuſtom of particular men, but the practice of the whole Church. So Saint *Hierome* impugned him with publick examples, as of the publick *tranſlation* of the reliques of Saint *Andrew*, St. *Luke*, Saint *Timothy* to *Conſtantinople* by *Conſtantine*, *apud quas*, ſaith he, *demones rugiunt, &c.* and then produceth another example of the moſt ſolemn *tranſlation* of the Reliques of *Samuel* the Prophet, from *Judæa* to *Calcedon* in *Thracia*, ſumptuouſly carried by Biſhops in a golden veſſel; met, received and accompanied by people of all Churches by the way. Whereupon he asketh *Vigilantius* whether he took *Arcadius* the Emperour (who cauſed this to be done) and all the Biſhops and multitude for ſacrilegious perſons and fools? as we may ask the Doctor in the ſame manner.

Saint

Saint *Hierome* ſaid of himſelf *præſepe domini & incunabula adoremus:* and expounding the verſe of the Pſalm *adorate ſcabellum pedum ejus*, he taketh the foot-ſtool to be the Croſs. See Saint *Gregor. Naz. Theod.* who maketh a plain diſtinction betwixt *Latria* and *Dulia*. They came not, ſaith he, to the Martyrs as to God, therefore did not give divine honour due alone to God, but an inferiour honour due to Gods Servants. So there is ſome intermediate worſhip between a *divine* and *meer civil* worſhip: let the Doctor find out a ſuitabe name for it, we will not ſtand upon terms; --- but nothing will ſerve him, but a religious and *divine* worſhip muſt be all one.

I wiſh the Doctor had ſtudied *Metaphyſicks* better, and not to confound and jumble together the *Notions* of thoſe things, which ought to be diſtinguiſhed, abſtracted or ſevered one from another. Is it not an errant *fallacy* to infer and conclude an abſolute divine worſhip; when the premiſes only underſtood in ſome inferiour relative reſpect?

The very light of nature and common ſenſe may decide this *Controverſie*: touching

touching the honour and dishonour done to a picture or image of them we hate or affect, reflects upon the person represented. Yet this man, who prattles much of reason and sense, denieth the honour or respect given to the image of Christ or his Saints doth at all redound to them: nay that it is flat idolatry? What Logick is this? is it the same thing to worship an image instead of God; and to worship God himself before an image? The Jews, we know, did worship God by bowing down before the Ark and Cherubims, and yet they did not worship them instead of God. Do all of the English Church commit idolatry entring the Churches uncovered, in revererence to the walls, bowing at the Altar or Name of Jesus, kneeling at their Communion, to their Parents for Blessing? all which may be as truely called, and are, as much a religious worship, or inferiour honour, as any practised by the Papists.

Doth not he interpret the word of God and the second precept falsely? in charging others with idolatry, for doing the self same things which God himself commanded the *Jews* to do, to whom he gave

gave this Precept? Did not God command *Moſes* to make two Cherubims of Gold in the two ends of the Mercy Seat? *Exod.* 25. 18. Were there not graven Images on the walls of the Temple? 2 *Chron. c.* 3. were not the two Cherubims in the moſt holy place of image work? *Pſal.* 99. 5. were not the people to pray in the Temple, and commanded to worſhip at the footſtool of our Lord, that is, *the Ark* of the Covenant, over which were Cherubims of image work? 1 *Chron.* 28. 2.

Behold now what a deep Divine and terrible Logician the Doctor is, the Papiſts were never ſo much put to their *trumps*, he argueth ſo ſubſtantially (againſt Scripture and againſt charity) his inference you muſt mark well.

God commanded the making of Images after he had given the ſecond Precept: therefore Papiſts can make no Images, but they are Idolaters. *Images* were placed in Gods Temple: therefore Papiſts are Idolaters, in placing Images in their Churches. God commanded to bow down and be proſtrate before the Ark: Therefore Papiſts who kneel in

the ſight of an Image are *Idolaters.* Are not theſe good conſequences? and yet this is the *weighty* and *wildy* club whereby this great *Hercules* hopeth to beat down Popery.

I leave it to all wiſe men to judg whether he be not ſelf-conceited and preſumptuous; who would make ſo many Chriſtians Idolaters whether they will or no? and thoſe who ſo much deteſt it, that it is incompatible to all the Articles of their Belief. To go about to paganize and make Antichriſtian all Chriſtian Predeceſſors of this Nation, and all the Churches of Chriſt for a thouſand years, and ſo by a neceſſary conſequence to be members of perdition.

Can any commit Idolatry againſt their will and intention? can you think it credible, that prudent men ſhould be ſo dull; as, in the midſt of a people that cry out againſt Idolatry, they ſhould deny God, and make Gods of Stocks and Stones? they who labonred theſe thouſand years, by the converſion of Nations, to perſwade people from Idolatry, to be charged themſelves with the ſame guilt? Good Sir, you may as truly ſay they

they worſhip an Aſſes *head* (as the old Heathens accuſed the primitive Chriſtians:) a wiſe man will as ſoon believe if you ſhould affirm, thoſe that approve all things in the *Alcaron* are Chriſtians; or that *England* reaches as far as *Greece*. This Web which you weave with ſo much earneſtneſs will only catch dotterils and fools, ſuch as have ſhaked their hands with their reaſon; or elſe enthralled or captivated it under *tyranny* and *partiality*; and locked it down to the gallies of their own paſſions.

It is not my buſineſs to diſpute this polemical Article at large, which is better done by Doctor *T. G.* and *V. C.* I find his whole Book like that *paralitick* Diſcourſe, written rather *Rhetorically ad captandum populum*, to inſinuate into vulgar capacities, then logically to evince the *Hypotheſis* contended for: ſtrip it out of its multifarious fallacies, ungrounded ſurmiſes and erroneous ſuppoſitions; and it will not only be a maſſie body without bones and nerves to ſupport it and join it together: but *ſine ſucco & ſanguine*, a very Skelleton.

Pardon me, good Reader, if thou think

me overſharp with this man, who hath kindled my zeal and whetted my ſtile againſt him: in that his procedure is unchriſtian, that it tends to deſtroy all, but ſettle no Religion. The greateſt heathen could never reproach Chriſtians with more injurious ſlanders. And ſhall it be lawful for a private perſon to condemn and deride, on falſe grounds and ſurmiſes, thoſe duties which the moſt learned and major part of Chriſtians ever admitted of? and ſhall ſuch a one be entreated to preach and print, and others abler and honeſter forbid the Preſs and Pulpit? are we not then partial to our ſelves, and become judges of evil thoughts. *James* 2. 1, 4.

When the Doctor proveth that they worſhip Idols, together with God, as the Kings of *Iſrael* did. Or alone without him, as the *Pagans* did: or that they adored with Sacrifice the Sun, the Moon, *&c.* and other inferiour Deities, as he calls them, we will grant him flat idolatry. In the mean while, all ſober men muſt think,

Theſe are devices to ſeduce the vulgar into ſtrange opinions and unchriſtian

thoughts

thoughts of others; to traduce honeſt men and their principles: let them be fairly heard in a pnblick conference, how far they can juſtifie themſelves from being deſervedly ſuſpected of ſuch *abominations*: if our paſſion will not our *charity* ought to think better.

I intended here to have a laſh or two at the late *uncharitable Pamphlet*, called (*A ſeaſonable Diſcourſe*:) but hearing it is already fully examined and corrected by a better Quill, I will only give theſe *Animadverſions*; *viz.* that all or moſt of his *material* Arguments, are ſufficiently anſwered in this Treatiſe, *viz.* concerning the Popes *Power* of *Excommunication*, *Depoſing*, *Supremvcy*, the Inquiſition, Maſſacres, diſguiſed Jeſuits, opinions of *Mariana*, *&c.* as you may find in the Objections and Anſwers before; as alſo that faith is not *to be kept with Heretiks*; that diſſimulation of *Equivocations* in Religion is permitted: all theſe are confuted to be moſt manifeſt untruths and falſhoods: he cites alſo very inſincerely many Authors: and brings in for his beſt proofs for witneſs, our enemies or partial Authors not to be credited; as *Thuanus*,

Platina, Myſter. Jeſuit. Cornel. Agrippa, Sleiden, Ollery de Foulis, &c.

The Pamphlet indeed rather indeed deſerves a rebuke for his ſlanders (and therefore the name is wiſely concealed) than for any man to take the pains to read or anſwer it. It is but a cheating Drollery to delude the people; whence he makes merry with the life of Saint *Francis*, as fabulous, though written by the hand of Saint *Bonaventure*, a ſeraphical and holy learned man, reputed amongſt wiſer Proteſtants: he takes pleaſure to rail at the Popes; to whom all weſtern Churches did ever bear a reſpect, and ought to do, as being the chief Patriarch of the Weſt acknowledged by the adverſaries themſelves.

All men ſhould ſpeak honourably and reverently of Princes and Biſhops, the one being Gods Vicegerents in *temporals*, the other in *ſpirituals*, and Succeſſors to the Apoſtles. Suppoſe ſome Popes have behaved themſelves too *ſevere*, or haughty, (being Princes as well as Biſhops) it is not ſo ſtrange, all great mean ſhould be *Saints*. But the very name of a *Pope* is a *ſcare-crow* to this man; as if he were

were one of the *ignorant Herd*, credulous to believe any fabulous ſtories pick'd out of Legends (like his own Pamphlet) that have neither *charity*, truth or *civility*. Why cannot he (if he were juſt and honeſt) rehearſe as well the pious acts and memories of good Popes, where there be twenty to one; famous in approved Authors, and undeniable Hiſtory? but that, like ſome venemous *ſerpent*, he loves to ſuck only in *poiſoned places*: To ſpeak of our own days, (as he doth at random, without judgment or ſincerity) what can he ſay againſt the lives and the actions of the laſt three Popes? have not they inceſſantly laboured for the *peace* and *ſupport* of all Chriſtian Princes, among themſelves and againſt the common enemy? and now in particular uniting the *Polanders*, and aſſiſting them with money againſt the Adverſary of Chriſtianity.

Is it not then a weakneſs in this man, (worthy to be derided by all the moderate and wiſer ſort) who would make the world believe Popes are ſo dangerous to Monarchy? What Kings or States complain againſt them? Are his neighbouring Princes jealous or fearful of his power or

encroachments? and cannot more potent Princes and Commonwealths, at a diſtance, better ſecure themſelves by their own power? Are not Catholicks in all places obliged to ſtand to their Soveraign, in defence of their Countrey, againſt the Pope as *effectually* as againſt any other? Have not the Engliſh Catholiks long ago in open Parliament declared, *that the Imperial Crown of England is, and hath been at all times, free from all ſubjection to the Pope?* and provided a Statute of *præmunire*, againſt any abuſes as they thought might happen?

Look on the Engliſh Catholicks in 88. when the Pope was excited and backed by the power of a great Prince, (Her Title being diſputable) and urged by ſome abuſes, aud continued *ſeverities*, to *excommunication, &c.* Do not our own and forraign Writers notwithſtanding teſtifie, the Catholicks ſtood firmly to their Allegiance? and the moſt learned Prieſts, by an *authentick* Writing, acknowledged the Q. (though excommunicated) to have ſtill the ſame authority as her Predeceſſors, and chearfully offered to hazard their lives in defence of her Dignity and Country?

Sup-

Suppoſe eight or ten men talk at random in Schools of the depoſing power, *&c.* muſt that be the Doctrine of the Church? Did the Church ever approve or teach any ſuch *maxims*, or were they ever tolerated? (as he moſt falſely would have it.) Have not all other, numerous, learned men contradicted them? did not all the Univerſities of a great Kingdom condemn ſuch opinions, and their Books to be burnt, by a Decree in the face of the world, by publick Juſtice? did not a General Council of *Conſtance* ſentence the Depoſing Power as *erroneous* and *ſcandalous*, although he were a *Tyrant*? Have any other reformed Churches proceeded ſo far? The Doctor doth well to cry *Whore* firſt, and take no notice of the many ſtanding objections in this and other things, againſt his own *Calviniſtical* party.

But what need I trouble Ink and Paper to examine this mans *abſurdities*, when I had taken but three hours to run them over, they are encreaſed to ſo many, I am come into a *Labyrinth*: you may judg by his firſt ten lines, wherein he committeth three: firſt he ſaith, *His Majeſty found*

found it neceſſary, for good of his affairs to grant freedom to all Diſſentors. If His Majeſty found it *neceſſary*, is not he preſumptuous, being a private man and a ſubject, to make this invective (he calls ſeaſonable) Diſcourſe to impeach it? to offer weak and lying motives to obſtruct it? Secondly, what confidence hath he to utter ſo notorious an untruth, as to ſay, *Now Prieſts openly act in all parts their functions?* In what City or Countrey Town, hath he found them publckly preaching or praying? Thirdly, is it not abſurd, that being an eccleſiaſtick, he (ſhould ſo mind us of *Capital puniſhment*) who, by the Canons, ſhould have no hand in blood?

He is much troubled at the Colliers *Creed, viz.* to *believe as the Church believes.* Which gives a ſuſpition he doth not believe or would not have his Pariſhoners believe one article of the *Creed.* He calls *charity* and love, but *tempting charms*: as if he did not know or believe the Goſpel; where there be innumerable commands for it. But then he comes a *canting* (being ſuſpitious his Book tends to Sedition and to breed feuds amongſt

mongſt us) ſaith, *no price can be to great for peace, but truth.* But what truth doth he mean? the many imputed ſlanders in his Book? or would he have truth ſeparated from *love, peace,* and *charity?* He cites Authors falſely; as *Thomas Aquinus Peron, &c.* he hath falſe ſuppoſals, *viz.* that Catholicks *take away the Scripture,* give a half Communion, make new Articles of Religion, *&c.* that indulgencies *remit the guilt of ſin,* and that the gifts of God are bought with money, *&c.* who ever writ more againſt ſuch *Simony* than Catholick Authors? or hold more plainly that ſin is never forgiven without ſorrow and repentance from God by the Merits and Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt? So much for the *Unſeaſonable Diſcourſe.*

Now to overthrow from the foundation all other aſperſions in this kind. Let all impartial men conſider, firſt thoſe *criminations* proceed originally from enemies, and grand *animoſities* of parties adverſe. Secondly, Papiſts univerſally diſown them. Thirdly, unrepentant traytors and implacable enemies are amongſt their accuſers, and which moſt encourages

ges them is their *conſtant fidelity:* they might eaſily vindicate themſelves from all ſuch imputations by the putting their adverſaries to the proof, had they but liberty to queſtion them, and bring them to a trial: For they never durſt appear or ſhew their faces in an open and impartial *audience.* We might admire where ſuch deep malice could be found, but much more how any prudence could believe them; and that no reaſon or experience will reſtrain them.

How ſtrange a wickedneſs is then the groundleſs cenſuring, ſo highly and publickly, ſo many noble and honourable perſonages, ſo many eminently deſerving ſubjects of his Majeſty? ſo many grave, moſt venerable and moſt ſacred perſonages in the world? What account ſhall ſuch give at the laſt day? what is this leſs than perſecution? what miſchiefs flow and are apt from ſuch libelling by ſad experience, we have taſted the bitterneſs of the fruit.

The dreadful ruin of *Hieruſalem* was brought about by ſuch *furious* ones, *Joſephus* calleth the *Zealots.* And ſhould they ſtill be countenanced, it unavoidably bringeth incurable diviſions; for there is

is no certain rule of Juſtice with ſuch perſons. Secondly, It breeds an ill correſpondence between our fellow ſubjects, and makes them ill looked upon, which violates *civil unity*, ſo neceſſary for the peace and ſtrength of a Kingdom. Thirdly, It diſincourages Loyalty, to ſee that after ſuch teſtimonies it may be lawful for any, at pleaſure, to brand them as Traytors publickly in Print. Fourthly, It tends to excite our Governours, that they are not fit to be endured in any State. Fifthly, It muſt breed *feuds* between private perſons all over *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. 6. It is a reproach to Chriſtian Religion, when the world muſt ſee, we have not ſo much *juſtice* and equity as *Heathens* have in their worldly *Societies*. Seventhly, It is a great cauſe of the perſecution of Chriſtians, and the damnation of Perſecutors: being fooliſher than the Devil, who would *build Chriſt's houſe or Kingdom by dividing it*. *Mat.* 12.

And that which muſt ſanctifie all this ſin, is, the ſeeming intereſt of God and Religion, to hinder the growth and increaſe of *Popery*. If it was an untruth they ſpake, it was for Religion; if they did *back-*

bite

bite and revile, it was to preſerve the hearers from errors aud *infection.* If they uſed their reputation to murder love, and make others *odious,* and rejoiced in their ſufferings and afflictions. all this is but for defence of truth. They think all this is a part of Chriſtian *zeal.*

And this is a mark of Satans way of *Reformation* he doth it by dividing, and teaching Chriſtians to form odious thoughts of one another: And when his meaning is to ſave you from heaven and truth; he takes upon him, he is only ſaving you from ſin, or errors or corruptions of the Church.

'By theſe notes and ſigns (ſaith an 'Engliſh Divine) you may eaſily perceive 'how the dividing zeal of ſuch differs from 'the true, *genuine* Chriſtian Catholick 'Zeal. If your zeal be raiſed for ſome 'ſingular opinion, not for the common 'ſalvation; moved by ſome perſonal in-'tereſt, honour, or diſhonour, for 'ſtrengthning a party, *&c.* And not to 'promote godlineſs the common cauſe of 'Chriſtianity, or general cauſe of *peace* 'and piety.

'A hurting burning *zeal,* for execu-'tion

'tion of *penal Statutes*. When it cauſeth 'you to revile, backbite, deſpiſe, cen-'ſure, and *zealouſly* to make diſſenters 'odious, that hearers may abate their 'love. When your zeal tendeth to hurt 'and cruelty, and is greater for the ad-'verſaries deſtruction, than your de-'ſire and prayer for his *converſion*.

'Its a falſe *zeal*, more inclined to their '*ſufferings*, *reproach* or hurt with ſome 'ſecret *deſire* of fire *from heaven*, *&c.* 'when it tendeth to *ſeparations*, *diviſi-'ons*, *diſtances* from our ancient Bre-'thren.

'This is the complexion of the proud, 'falſe, conceited and ſurly ſort of pro-'feſſors, which flyeth outward againſt 'the ſins of other men, and can live with '*pride*, *ſelfiſhneſs*, and ſenſuality at home '---a contemptuous perſecuting *zeal*, kin-'led by inflaming cenſures of raſh paſſi-'onate Preachers.

'Firſt it is an ill ſign when their cen-'ſures are beyond the proportion of 'their underſtandings; and their *expe-'rience* and *prudence* much leſs then o-'thers whom they cenſure. Secondly, 'When it is hardly reſtrained; it ſhew-

'eth

'eth the World and the Fleſh are too 'much it friends. Thirdly, When it 'burneth where *luſt*, *pride* and *malice* 'burn. Fourthly, When it carrieth you 'from thoſe holy rules *preſcribed*: and 'pretendeth to come from a ſpirit which 'will not be tried, but by Scripture. 'Its a *ſuſpicious ſign* when it is contrary to 'the judgment, experience, and zeal of 'the *generality* of moſt well *experienced*, 'ſober godly Chriſtians. And ſo contrary to the ordinary working of Gods Spirit in others, who are as good as you: for this *zeal* cometh not from heaven. For Gods Spirit is not contrary to it ſelf.

'But the true Catholick *genuine* Chri-'ſtian *zeal* appeareth in its own likeneſs, 'in *wiſdome*, *love*, *humility*, *meekneſs* and 'and *ſobriety*: Provoketh hearers to 'love; and good works. Is not *conten-'tious*, *reproachful*, injurious: loveth vir-'tue in a *heathen*. Is kindled by hum-'ble meditations of Chriſts example, to 'ſtudy and imitate him and his Saints 'in *forbearance*, *patience*, forgiving others 'and doing good.

Promoting Chriſtian Religion with *ſin-*

cere

cere and plain dealing; winning men by *Morality*, juſtice and charity, and offending them by no unneceſſary thing; by no imputed calumnies; ſticking cloſer to juſtice and *peace* than to any party: Owneth virtue and goodneſs that is in all parties and opinions. Which will be a means to remove the *animoſities* we are ſo apt to receive againſt diſſenters, and leſſen our differences and diſagreements.

The true means of gaining ſouls to God, is the *Goſpellary* way of *meekneſs*, perſwaſion, *&c.* Chriſt and his Apoſtles appeared without words of mans wiſdome, aſſiſtance of Kings or Princes; without *fines*, *impriſonments*, *oaths*, *&c.* By his admirable mildneſs he condemned all theſe *politick* Religions, by uſing cruelty to ſupport them. If it had been otherwiſe *I would have told you*, *John* 14 if the way of planting or preſerving my faith had been by impoſing penalties, by cruel Oaths, or watering it with the blood of Refuſers, I would *have told you.* The ſon of man *came not to deſtroy mens lives but to ſave them.*

To wind up all in few words of what

is ſaid in this Book, I deſire no prudent man to give any credit further than his experience ſhall find true after diligent ſearch made as concerns every one; before he paſs ſentence. If this be not enough to diſabuſe your credulity, (of criminations imputed without proof or probability) let all impartial men judge whether you have not ſhaked hands with all *morality*. For who can pretend any charity that will harbour detected calumnies? or who can love truth that will not acknowledge it when repreſented? The reaſons above given I doubt not, which would ſerve to clear the Catholicks from ſuch aſperſions, before any juſt or reaſonable Judg, Pagan or *Mahometan*. How much more ought they to ſerve among Chriſtians; who profeſs not only truth, but charity, which is the life of Religion and bond of perfection. ‘Hence, ſaith the great *Siracides*, blame ‘no man before thou haſt enquired the ‘matter; *underſtand firſt and then re-* ‘*form righteouſly*.

CON-

CONCLUSION.

IN Concluſion now of this *Apologetick* Diſcourſe; it will not be improper, once again to mind you of the neceſſity we have to *Chriſtian love.* Seing the neglect of it, and a perſecuting hurtful *ſpirit* (miſtaken for zeal) hath been and is the iſſue and conſequence of all the *immoderation*, feuds and antipathies we have one againſt another.

It is then the duty of every ſerious Chriſtian to lay aſide all vain jealouſies, idle ſuſpitions, rude *ſeverities*; (and much more forged calumnies) againſt any perſwaſion whatſoever. The Authors and Meditators of ſuch aſperſions, though they may pretend much Conſcience and Religion, can have none. For S. *James* aſſures us, that whoſoever would ſeem religious and tempers *not his tongue, that mans religion is vain*: And in *Leviticus*

19. 15. Its commanded, *thou ſhalt not calumniate thy neighbour* nor *oppreſs him by violence.* Its againſt a divine precept to bear falſe witneſs or detect our brother; its againſt the luſtre of Chriſtian Religion, it gives ſcandal abroad to the very *Heathens*, its againſt the peace and ſettlement of the Nation at home, which muſt be conſerved by mutual concord and unity of affection.

No moderate man that hath left any room in his breaſt for truth; or charity in his heart; can abet ſuch fierce, cenſorious unchriſtian tempers, (which have appeared of late) which have made and ſtill keep open, our *diviſions* and *diſtances:* if the ſame ſins are continued without repentance, and if after ſuch warning (as the whole world ever ſcarce had the like) we remain ſtill ſelf-conceited, and arrogantly ignorant. How heynous is our crime, and how dreadful is the *prognoſtick* of our greater ruin? and how guilty are thoſe Miniſters of the blood of Souls, who tell not men of this ſin and danger?

When I conſider Chriſts precept of mutual love, and the Apoſtle abridging it,

it, the whole duty of a Chriſtian: I cannot ſufficiently wonder to ſee Chriſtians in this preſent age; ſo furiouſly to perſecute and hate one another only on the account of Religion. If we reflect upon the difficulties that encounter us in the way of truth, and withall conſider the ſhortneſs of our ſight, for here we *ſee but in part, and underſtand but in part*, There will appear more reaſon to endeavour the mutual aſſiſtance and ſupport, than malitious *deſtruction* and ruin of one another. To hate and vilifie others for their opinions, is *repugnant* to Scripture which commands us to love our brother and not perſecute him. To deſpiſe our brother for his innocent miſtakes, or to conſtrain him to profeſs more than he is convinced of; proceeds from a great *tyranny* and preſumption.

I ſearched *Evangelical* records; and there was nothing but mildneſs, and ſoft doctrine: I enquired into the *breathings of the Spirit*, and they were all *pacificatory*. I wondred from what Scripture-encouragement theſe men deducted their practices. At laſt I was forced to con-

clude, they were only *pretended* Chaplains to the Prince of *peace*: And those Teachers that should have been saving lights, were degenerated into firebrands.

Different Opinions in Religion, might consist well enough, with peace and publick safety, would men be perswaded to be modest, to keep them to themselves, and not to fancy their conceits necessary to the rest of mankind; to vex their neighbours, provoke their rulers, dissettle the government and disturb the peace for the propagation of them.

Unity and affection might be preserved amidst diversity of opinions; if we do but consider that errors are infirmities of the understanding, and no man is willing to be deceived. So are not objects of our hatred, but our pity. We hate no man for being blind, poor, lame, *&c.* ignorance and infirmity require our *compassion* and our charity; but nothing can justifie our rage and malice. If we were *infallible* and all our opinions were *certainties* and *demonstrations*; we might then have more pretence for our *stiffness*, rigidness, and *severities*. But to confess the *infirmities* of our own faith and understanding

derſtanding; and to give no candid allowance to others in many failings, this is utterly inexcuſable.

The way indeed may not be broad in reſpect of *practice*, or *ſenſual indulgence*: yet it hath a latitude, in reſpect of judgment and *circumſtantial* opinion. A middle; *moderate*, *pacifick* way. He that ſtands in the middle path, may extend the arms of his charity on both ſides. Extreams are dangerous. Our affections ought to meet, though our judgments cannot; Chriſtian love is neceſſary, but agreement in opinion is neither neceſſary, nor poſſible. Love and goodneſs prevail. Where nothing elſe will; theſe win and captivate the Soul. And ſuch conqueſts are more noble and better than either thoſe of arts or arms.

Now to attain this excellent *Catholick* temper, we are to love virtue in a Heathen, and S. *Paul* 1 *Cor.* 7. ſaith *If any brother hath a wife an Infidel and ſhe conſent to dwell with him, let him not put her away*, what can be ſaid more to oblige Chriſtians to charity and meekneſs, to forbear one another, than an injunction of an Apoſtle to live peaceably even with an Infidel?

The excellency of christian love is preferred before all gifts and *natural perfections: Cor.* 13. it is the image of God, it is his vital Spirit infused into us, and renders us most like to our Maker. It is the Spirit of *Angels* and glorified Souls. The *Celestial* Inhabitants live and abide in love, sweetness and benignity. Nor is that love confined to the blessed and glorified company, but it sheds it self abroad upon the neather world. And they *are ministring Spirits for our good, Heb.* 1. 14. They so far love us, that they can stoop from heaven to serve us: for *there is joy at the conversion of a sinner*, and consequently love to converted *Saints*, & care and pity for the rest of men.

Love and charity is the *vital* grace of Christian Religion; and though mens understandings, are convinced already, that charity is their duty: yet there is too much need to represent some of the vast heap of Injunctions that make it so, to incline their wills. I shall therefore briefly lay together a few of the chief instances of this kind.

Our Saviour urgeth it in his command *John* 13.34. he maketh it a distinguishing note

note of his Diſciples, 13. 35. and enjoins them to love their enemies, *Mat.* 3. 24. And the want of it the reaſon of the curſe pronounced on thoſe on the left hand at the ſolemn judgment, *Mat.* 41. 42.

This love and union was ſo recommended to all Chriſtians by the Apoſtles, that they inculcated nothing more than the neceſſity thereof. Saint *Paul* attributed thereto all the perſecution of Chriſtian Religion, ſaying, *qui diligit proximum legem implevit*, *Rom.* 13. 3. and *Galat.* 3. 22. reckons it five times over, under the names of *peace*, *long-ſuffering*, *gentleneſs*, *goodneſs* and *meekneſs*, *Gal.* 22. 23. He advanceth it above *all gifts and graces*, 1 *Cor.* 13. above *prophecy and myſteries, and knowledge of faith.* And the beloved Diſciple Saint *John* attributes unto it our being *born of God*: And the want of this an evidence of not knowing God, and a ſign of one that abideth in death, 1 *John* 3. 14. he calls him a murderer *that hates another*, 11. 15. a lyar if he pretend to *love God and loveth not his brother*, 1 *John* 4. 20. we are commanded to be kindly affected one towards another, and to be pitiful and

courteous,

courteous, 11. 10. S. *Peter* exhorteth to mutual charity above all things, *mutuam charitatem ante omnia, &c. Pet.* 1. 8. and 4. 14.

This our *charity*, *gentleneſs*, *goodneſs*, *meekneſs*, *&c.* ought to extend to all men univerſally without limitation; but eſpecially to all Chriſtians as Chriſtians: becauſe ſuch are the more ſpecial objects. It muſt not be confined by names and the intereſt of parties or ſects; but ought to reach as far as Chriſtianity it ſelf. To love thoſe that are of our way, humour, and opinion, is not charity but ſelf-love: and it is not for Chriſts ſake but our own.

It is rare to meet with ſerious Chriſtians who are not ſo deeply engaged in ſome party or other, as to darken their judgments, and pervert their affections as to all the reſt. What company can you come into but all their diſcourſe is to ſtigmatiſe diſſenters? what bitter lyes, what invectives have been raiſed againſt moſt grave, ſolid and ancient Chriſtians? how blindly do they look on all that is good in thoſe that differ from them? how partially do they aggravate the faults of all that are againſt their way? and

and how ſmall a thing will ſerve their turn to excuſe the faults of their own party? and they think all this is a part of Chriſtian zeal, as if Chriſtians engaged in a war againſt themſelves. And when all men ſhould know them to be Chriſts Diſciples by *loving one another*; moſt men may perceive (that contrary to the *eſſence* of Chriſtianity) they endeavour to make each other odious.

So that though I ſee never ſo much eagerneſs for an opinion, I ſhall never call that *zeal* or religion without the conſcience of chriſtian love. Yea though ſuch men ſhould ſacrifice their lives, I ſhould not think them *martyrs*: and in this I have the warrant of the great Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 13. 3. though *I give my body to be burned and have not charity it profiteth nothing.*

Even thoſe that killed Chriſt and his Apoſtles, did it as a duty, and a part of ſervice of God, *John* 16. but believe it, it is *Apoſtacy*, to fall from love; your Souls die, when charity dyeth: that which killeth love and charity; killeth all *grace* and *holineſs*. The *opinions*, *principles*, ſidings, practices, which deſtroy

stroy love, destroys your Souls. O what a *loathsome sacrifice* is it to the God of love, if we must leave our gift at the altar till we are reconciled to our offended brother: what a gift is theirs who are unreconciled to almost all Churches of Christianity?

Young unexperienced Christians are ignorant of *Satans* wiles, thinking when a wrathful enemies heat is kindled in them, (even against men of ancient principles) that it is a zeal of Gods exciting spirit, and that it is your duty, or that you should be luke-warm in the cause of God and truth, if you did it not: when alas! it hath more of wrath than love. The white Devil is a killer of Souls as well as the black.

And now considering the express recommends and injunctions of all the aforesaid and many other places of holy writ, to this grand duty of Religion: if any can quiet their Consciences, and yet continue in the contrary *persecuting* spirit and practice: they have found a way to escape all Laws of God; and may conceit themselves religious, though they live in the works of the flesh, hatred, variance, sedition, *&c. Gal.* 3.22. There

There was never a more ſeaſonable time to tell men of this great ſin, than when the temptation to it is greateſt; when God hath been ſo frequently diſhonoured by it; when the world doth ring of it. All Sides and Nations reproach us for it: when the ſenſual and partial are ſo hardened in their ſelfiſhneſs, that no warning can take off the Bias of their Judgments. There is a kind of ſpirit in ſome, which is ſo different from that charity which thinketh no evil: that it thinketh nothing elſe concerning thoſe that differ from them: this is contrary to that charity, which is not *puffed up*, and doth not behave it ſelf *unſeemly*.

1 *Cor.* 13.

In that almighty God hath put enmity between the Seed of the Woman and the Seed of the Serpent; we may gather, that as the Seed of the Woman ſhould be at enmity with the Seed of the Serpent; ſo ſhould it be at unity with it ſelf. If even with *Infidels* and Heathens the Servant of God muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, *&c.* 2 *Tim.* 2. 24. How much more is Gods family and inheritance to be uſed with love and tenderneſs? There

There is in many Christians a strange *inequality* of *partiality*. Alas! how often have I heard wise, and otherwise prudent persons, cry out against *pride* and *partiality* in others; who in their next discourse have shamefully shewed it themselves? making much of their own inconsiderable reasonings, and vilifying urgent evidence. And being so intent on their own cause, that they could scarce have patience to hear another speak, and when they have heard them, their first words shew, that they never well weighed the strength of his arguments, but were all the while thinking what to say against him, or how to go on as they had begun.

Many an errour is taken up by going too far from others. 'Some giddy and 'heady Professors (saith Doctor *Gau-* 'den) have been so eager to come out 'of *Babylon*, that they are almost run 'out of their wits; so jealous of super- 'stition, that they are pandors for con- 'fusion; so scared with the name of *Rome*, 'that they are afraid of all right rea- 'son and sober Religion; so fearful of 'being over-righteous, by following *tra-* 'ditions of men, that they fear not to be 'over-

‘ over-wicked, by overthrowing the good
‘ *foundations* of honour, order, peace and
‘ charity: fierce enemies indeed againſt
‘ the Idolatry of Antichriſt, but faſt friends
‘ to *Belial* and Mammon, to Schiſm and
‘ Sacriledg.

And thus mens judgments and practices are depraved by flying indiſcreetly from others; while they think more from whence they go than whether: More favouring the ſeparate zeal of Phariſees than the winning zeal of Chriſt: calling themſelves a godly people, and are but a company of ſuperſtitious Phariſees, or a ſort of melancholy humoriſts, who muſt ſit becauſe their neighbour ſtands, or muſt go out of the way becauſe their neighbour goeth in it.

They that will find out the bottom of any Religion muſt prepare themſelves to carry a ſpirit thoroughly diſcharged of all animoſities, paſſions and falſe apprehenſions, which corrupt the judgment, and raiſe a miſt upon the moſt reſplendent lights of truth. If we were *impartially* willing to know the truth, and did pray God in meekneſs of ſpirit: we would avoid, and not chooſe *deceits*, and reſiſt the

the light, and provoke God to forſake our underſtandings.

Many Chriſtians are as children toſſed too and fro, fluctuating 'twixt wind and water: there is no other remedy for ſuch, or ſatisfaction or *peace* to their Conſciences, but Chriſt's precept and preſcript: to *hear the Church*; to be of the number and in the community of the *generality* of agreeing Chriſtians; ſeing the *generality* of thoſe that have a long and conſtant delivered *Series* of their Doctrines, is more unlikely to be in error, or forſaken of Chriſt, than a few odd-conceited new opinions. And this may be one rational means left us to find out the truth; as *Baxter* confeſſeth *in cure of Church, &c.* to ſubmit to that, the moſt religious, the moſt learned, the major part of Chriſtians ever taught or ſubmitted to. Whence Biſhop *Ganden* noteth; 'The primitive Churches were as careful to act in their outward Order and Government of the Church, according to Apoſtolical pattern, and *traditional* conſtitutions (which were firſt the rule of the Churches practice) as they were faithful to preſerve the Canon of Scriptures, which were after

‹ after written and delivered without cor-
‹ ruption to poſterity.

Every one will confeſs that the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity is *meek*, *peaceable*, *gentle*; and yet how contrary is the practice? the people of God are zealous, but of what? not to conſume and deſtroy one another, not to hate and vilifie one another: but they are zealous to love one another, to forbear what is contrary to love: zealous of good works, patient, temperate, gentle, &c. the way of heavenly wiſdom is meek, peaceable and eaſie, to be entreated, by all offices of love, inclined to good to all. The ſpirit of falſe zeal is cenſorious, hurtful, dividing, following the works of the fleſh, which are hatred, malice, variance, leading the way to cruelty and perſecution.

Rom. 12.18.

Galat. 5. 12.

Where is perſecution, but from thinking ill of others? abhorring, and not loving them? robbing men of the priviledges of Chriſtians, not leaving them common liberty of men and ſubjects, nor to plead for themſelves. This deſtroying cru-

elty leaveth them neither, and will not suffer them to enjoy so much liberty as *Heathens* and Infidels may enjoy; or as S. *Paul* did under such: condemning them to the loss of the greatest priviledges on earth, and to be left out with the dogs, publicans and heathens. *Act.* 28.

Is persecution worthy all the calamitous divisions in Christendom, and the blood of so many thousands shed for conscience sake? and enduring the outcries of the imprisoned and banished, and their prayers to Heaven from mens hands, and the leaving such a name upon record to posterity, as is usually left in History on the authors of such sufferings? besides the present regret of mind in the calamities of others, and sad divisions and destructions of charity which cometh hereupon?

Will force cure disagreements and errors better than evidence of truth and love will do? will they be so cured without a greater mischief? Is not the work to be done for saving mens Souls, and shall any be saved against his will? will penalties change the judgment in matters of religion? is he any better than a knave or

or hypocrite who will ſay or *ſwear* to do that through fear which he thinketh God forbiddeth him, and feareth may damn his Soul? is it the honour of Church or Kingdom to be compoſed of ſuch? and are the lives of Kings, *peace* of Kingdoms, Eſtates, *&c.* competently ſecured where God is not feared more than *fines* or corporal puniſhments?

Is this to teach in love, to inſtruct in meekneſs? it is certain, whoſoever ſwerves from the dictate of his Conſcience commits a ſin, *Rom.* 14. So they that endeavour to force or draw any man to profeſs or act contrary to what his Soul believes are as deeply guilty of the ſame crime. We are all infirm, and of imperfect underſtandings, therefore we ought not to be too imperious or too cenſorious toward other diſſenters, leſt you *receive a greater condemnation:* take heed you fall not into the hands of the living God. They ſhall be *judged without mercy, who have ſhewed no mercy.*

James 3. 12.

The rod of diſcipline muſt be uſed, but it muſt be done only to the *ſcandalous*: and ſo done, that it may appear to be

Christs own work, and upon his interest, and his command; and not either arbitrarily or for our selves. Christ teacheth us not to use violence, when we speak for him, but to beseech men *in his name to be reconciled to God*, 2 *Cor.* 5. And men would more easily be perswaded to believe that Religion to be from God, whose Professors they saw to be god-like. The whole Gospel is a revelation of the love of God, and a *Messias* of peace, and very opposite to envy and animosity: all principles which are against universal love, are against God and holiness: it is Love which is predominant, Fear is subservient, and that fear which is contrary to love is vice.

I dare proclaim true piety, love, humility and prudence may happily heal a great many dissentions, and the wounds which rash injudicious zeal hath made, that to the proud, carnal and uncharitable seem incurable; and the *cessation* of unnecessary impositions might cease the saddest distractions of the Nation. Oppression maketh a wise man mad, saith the Preacher, *Eccles.* 7. 7. Conscience Persecution then among Christians is clearly repugnant

pugnant to the Law of God, the Light of Nature, and evidence of our own principles.

For the ſake then of Chriſt, who purchaſed the weakeſt with his blood: for the ſake of thoſe who are in danger of turning to *Atheiſm*: for the ſake of the poor diſtracted Nation: for the ſake of the King, that he may have comfort in his Subjects, of governing a quiet, *peaceable* people: and for your own ſakes, that you may give up account to God of your principal and moſt Chriſtian duty; and not make *Apocriphal* all thoſe Texts of Scripture, and plain injunctions to charity and love above cited, and *Rom.* 14. 2,3,4. and 15. 34. *Matt.* 25.40. 1 *Phil.* 15,16,17.

Let then the Scripture, Reaſon and Experience, the Petitions and Tears of the diſtreſſed intreat you to moderation, *Rom.* 3. 16. let the deformity and unreaſonableneſs of the cruel maxims of perſecution, bringing nothing but deſtruction and miſery, be a determent to all tempeſtuous ſpirits; let the conſcientious and godly-minded people out of the bowels of mercy and compaſſion ſollicite the Governours of the earth, and pray unto heaven for an impartial freedom.

That eternal Majesty who raised so brave a fabrick of such indispos'd materials, that controuls the waves, and checks the tumults of the people; let his mercy be implored for speedy succour to the distressed, for unity and charity to the divided: That the rod of *Aaron* may blosſom, that the Tabernacle of *David* may be raised, that the subtil and envious may be caught in their own snare, that the result of all afflictions may be the *greatening* of his Glory and the exalting of his Scepter. *Amen.*

FINIS.